

THE
WORKS
OF
JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D: D. S.P.D.

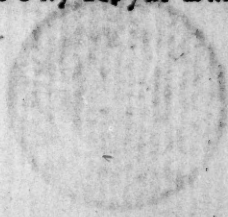
WITH
NOTES HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL,

BY
J. HAWKESWORTH, L. L. D.,
AND OTHERS.

V O L. XII.

EDINBURGH:

Printed by Mrs. MUNDELL, Old Excise-Office;
by DAVID WILLISON, Craig's Close; and by
CHURNSIDE and WILSON, Royal Bank Close;
the Publishers. 1778.



®

THE
WORKS
OF
JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D.
WITH
NOTES HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL
BY
J. HAWKESWORTH, ESQ.
AND
OTHERS
EDINBURGH
Printed by James Ballantyne, in Leith, 1794.



THE
C O N T E N T S.

	Page
<i>THE history of the four last years of the Queen.</i>	
Book I. - - - - -	I
— II. - - - - -	43
— III. - - - - -	91
— IV. - - - - -	153
<i>The reign of William II. surnamed Rufus</i>	244
— Henry I. - - - - -	271
— Stephen - - - - -	305
— Henry II. <i>A fragment</i> - - -	346
<i>Henry II.'s character. Extracted from the</i>	
<i>Monks</i> - - - - -	352
<i>The answer of the right hon. W—m P—y,</i>	
<i>Esq; to the right hon. Sir R—t W—e</i>	354
<i>To the Count de Gyllenborg</i> - - -	366
<i>Of mean and great figures made by several</i>	
<i>persons</i> - - - - -	369
<i>Concerning that universal hatred which pre-</i>	
<i>vails against the clergy</i> - - - - -	374
<i>A letter, giving an account of a pestilent neigh-</i>	
<i>bour</i> - - - - -	379
<i>A letter to the Earl of Pembroke</i> - - -	380
<i>To the same, pretended to be the dying speech</i>	
<i>of Tom Ashe, whose brother, the Reverend</i>	
<i>Dillon Ashe, was nicknamed Dilly</i> - - -	381
a 2.	<i>A letter</i>

	Page
<i>A letter to the king at arms</i> - -	386
——— <i>to Mrs. Susanna Neville</i> - -	390
<i>On barbarous denominations in Ireland</i> -	392
<i>To Francis Grant, Esq; merchant in London</i>	399
<i>A Latin letter in the Grattanian style. By</i> <i>Doctor Sheridan</i> - - -	404
<i>A letter to Doctor Sheridan. Anglo-Latin</i>	405
<i>An epistle in hard Latin, from Doctor Swift</i> <i>to Doctor Sheridan</i> - - -	407
<i>An answer to the same. By Doctor Sheridan</i>	410
<i>The Craftsman</i> - - -	414
<i>The answer to the Craftsman</i> - - -	430
<i>On good manners and good breeding</i> - -	438



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
FOUR LAST YEARS
OF THE
QUEEN.



VOL. XII.

A

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

FOUR LAST YEARS

OF THE

QUEEN

Vol. XII

ADVERTISEMENT.

THUS, the long-wished-for HISTORY of the FOUR LAST YEARS of the QUEEN's reign is at length brought to light, in spite of all attempts to suppress it!

As this publication is not made under the sanction of the name or names, which the author and the world had a right to expect; it is fit some account of the work's appearing in this manner should be here given.

Long before the DEAN's apparent decline, some of his intimate friends, with concern, foresaw the impending fate of his fortune and his works. To this, it is owing, that these sheets, which the world now despaired of ever seeing, are rescued from obscurity, perhaps from destruction.

For this, the public is indebted to a gentleman now * in Ireland, of the greatest probity and worth, with whom the DEAN long lived in perfect intimacy. To this gentleman's hands the DEAN entrusted a copy of his history, desiring him to peruse and give his judgment of it, with the last corrections and amendments the author had given it, in his own hand.

His friend read, admired, and approved. And from a dread of so valuable and so interesting a work's being by any accident lost or effaced, as was probable, by its not being intended to be published in the author's lifetime; he resolved to keep this copy, till the author should press him for it; but with a determined purpose, it should never see the light, while there were

A 2

any

* At the time of the first publication of the following history.

viii A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

any hopes of the author's own copy being published, or even preserved.

This resolution, he inviolably kept, till he and the world had full assurance, that the DEAN's executors, or those, into whose hands the original copy fell, were so far from intending to publish it, that it was actually suppressed, perhaps destroyed.

Then, he thought himself not only at liberty, but judged it his duty to his departed friend, and to the public, to let this copy, which he had now kept many years most secretly, see the light.

Thus, it has at length fallen into the hands of a person, who publishes it for the satisfaction of the public, abstracted from all private regards; which are never to be permitted to come in competition with the common good.

Every judicious eye will see, that the author of these sheets wrote with strong passions, but with stronger prepossessions and prejudices in favour of a party. These, it may be imagined, the editor, in some measure, may have adopted, and published this work as a kind of support to that party, or some surviving remnant thereof.

It is but just to undeceive the reader, and inform him, from what kind of hand he has received this work. A man may regard a good piece of painting, while he despises the subject: if the subject be ever so despicable, the masterly strokes of the painter may demand our admiration; while he, in other respects, is entitled to no portion of our regard.

*In poetry, we carry our admiration still further, and like the poet, while we actually condemn the
man.*

ADVERTISEMENT. ix

man. Historians share the like fate: Hence some, who have no regard to propriety or truth, are yet admired for diction, style, manner, and the like.

The editor considers this work in another light: he long knew the author, and was no stranger to his politics, connexions, tendencies, passions, and the whole œconomy of his life. He has long been hardily singular in condemning this great man's conduct, amidst the admiring multitude; nor ever could have thought of making an interest in a man, whose principles and manners, he could, by no rule of reason and honour, approve, however he might have admired his parts and wit.

Such was judged the disposition of the man, whose history of the most interesting period of time in the annals of Britain, are now herein offered to the reader. He may well ask, from what motives? The answer is easily, simply given:

The causes assigned for delaying the publication of this history, were principally these: That the manuscript fell into the hands of men, who, whatever they might have been by the generality deemed, were, by the DEAN, believed to be of his party; though they did not, after his death, judge it prudent to avow his principles, more than to deny them in his lifetime. These men, having got their beavers, tobacco-boxes, and other trifling remembrances of former friendship, by the DEAN's will, did not choose publicly to avow principles, that had marred their friend's promotion, and might probably put a stop to theirs; therefore, they gave the inquisitive world to understand, that there was something too strong against many great

x A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

men, as well as the succeeding system of public affairs in general, in the DEAN'S History of the Four Last Years of the QUEEN'S Reign, to admit of a publication, in our times : and, with this poor insinuation, excused themselves, and satisfied the weakly well-affected, in suppressing the manifestation of displeasing truths, of however great importance to society.

This manuscript has now fallen into the hands of a man, who never could associate with, or even approve any of the parties or factions, that have differently distracted, it might be said, disgraced these kingdoms ; because, he has as yet known none, whose motives or rules of action, were truth and the public good alone ; of one who judges that perjured magistrates of all denominations, and their most exalted minions, may be exposed, deprived, and cut off, by the fundamental laws of his country ; and who, upon these principles, from his heart, approves and glories in, the virtues of his predecessors, who revived the true spirit of the British polity, in laying aside a priest-ridden, an hen-pecked tyrannical tool, who had overturned the political constitution of his country, and in re-instituting the dissolved body politic, by a revolution, supported by the laws of nature, and the realm, as the only means of preserving the natural and legal, the civil and religious liberties of the members of the commonwealth.

Truth, in this man's estimation, can hurt no good cause. And falsehood and fraud, in religion and politics, are ever to be detected, to be exploded.

*Insinuations, that this history contained something injurious to the present establishment, and therefore
necessary*

ADVERTISEMENT. xi

necessary to be suppressed, serve better the purposes of mistaken or insidious malecontents, than the real publication can. And, if any thing were by this or any other history to be shewn essentially erroneous in our politics: who, that calls himself a Briton, can be deemed such an impious slave, as to conceal the destructive evil? The editor of this work disdains and abhors the servile thought; and wishes to live no longer, than he dare to think, speak, write, and, in all things, to act worthy of a Briton.

From this regard to truth, and to his country, the editor of this history was glad of an opportunity of rescuing such a writing from those who meant to suppress it: the common cause, in his estimation, required and demanded it should be done; and the sooner it is published, he judged, the better: for, if the conduct of the Queen and her ministers does not deserve the obloquy that has been long industriously cast upon it; what is more just than to vindicate it? What more reasonable, than that this should be done, while living witnesses may yet be called to prove or disprove the several allegations and assertions; since, in a few years more, such witnesses may be as much wanting, as to prevent a canonization, which is therefore prudently procrastinated for above an age? Let us then coolly hear what is to be said on this side the question, and judge like Britons.

The editor would not be thought to justify the author of this history, in all points, or even to attempt to acquit him of unbecoming prejudices and partiality: without being deeply versed in history or politics, he can see his author, in many instances, blinded with
passions,

xii A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

passions, that disgrace the historian, and blending with phrases, worthy of a Cæsar or a Cicero, expressions not to be justified by truth, reason, or common sense; yet think him a most powerful orator, and a great historian.

No unprejudiced person will blame the DEAN, for doing all that is consistent with truth and decency, to vindicate the government of the QUEEN, and to exculpate the conduct of her ministers, and her last general; all good men would rejoice at such a vindication. But, if he meant no more than this, his work would ill deserve the title of an history. That he generally tells truths, and founds his most material assertions upon facts, will, I think, be found very evident. But there is room to suspect, that, while he tells no more than the truth, he does not tell the whole truth. However, he makes it very clear, that the QUEEN's allies, especially our worthy friends the Dutch, were much to blame, for the now generally condemned conduct of the QUEEN, with regard to the prosecution of the war, and the bringing about the peace.

The author's drawings of characters are confessedly partial: for he tells us openly, p. 6. he means not to give characters entire, but such parts of each man's particular passions, acquirements, and habits, as he was most likely to transfer into his political schemes. What writing, what sentence, what character can stand this torture?—What extreme perversion may not, let me say, does not this produce?—Yet thus does he choose to treat all men that were not favourers of the latest measures of the QUEEN,
when

ADVERTISEMENT. xiii

when the best that has been said for her, shews no more than that she was blindfolded, and held in leading-strings by her ministers.

He does not spare a man, confessed by all the world, to have discharged the duties of his function, like a soldier, like an hero. But charges Prince EUGENE with raising and keeping up a most horrible mob, with intent to assassinate Harley. For all which odious charges, he offers not one individual point of proof.

He is not content, with laying open again the many faults already publicly proved upon the late Duke of Marlborough, but insinuates a new crime, by seeming to attempt to acquit him of aspiring at the throne. But this is done in a manner peculiar to this author.

On the other hand, he extols the ministers and minions of the QUEEN in the highest terms; and while he robs their antagonists of every good quality, generally gives those wisdom, and every virtue that can adorn human nature.

He is not ashamed to attempt to justify, what all thinking good men must condemn, the QUEEN'S making twelve peers at once, to serve a particular turn.

All these may be ascribed to the strength of his passions, and to the prejudices, early imbibed, in favour of his indulgent Royal Mistress, and her favourites and servants. The judicious will look through the elegant clothing, and dispassionately consider these as mere human errors, to which no well-informed mind

can.

xiv. A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

can assent. The editor thinks himself bound to protest against them.

He makes a few lapses on the other side, without being as clear as an impartial historian would choose to appear. He more than hints at the QUEEN's displeasure at its being moved in parliament, that the Prince ELECTOR should be invited to reside in England, to whose crown he was by law declared presumptive heir: But is always open upon the QUEEN's insisting on the Pretender's being sent out of France. — It is easy to see how incompatible these things appear: nothing could tend more to secure the Hanover succession, and to enlarge its benefits to Britain, than the bringing over the successor, who should, in every country, be well instructed in the language, customs, manners, religion and laws of his future subjects, before he comes to hold the reins of government. And, our author does not take the proper care to inform us, how far the French thought fit to comply with banishing the Pretender their dominions; since many still live in doubt, that if he was sent out of France, he was sent into England.

But there is one expression of our author too perverse, too grossly abused, to admit of any apology, of any palliation. It is not to be supposed, that he was ignorant of any word in the English language. And least of all can he be supposed ignorant of the meaning of a word, which, had it been ever so doubtful before, had a certain meaning impressed upon it by the authority of parliament, of which no sensible subject can be ignorant.

Notwithstanding

ADVERTISEMENT. xv

Notwithstanding this, where our author speaks of the late King James, he calls him the abdicated king, and gives the same epithet even to his family. Though this weak, ill-advised, and ill-fated prince, in every sense of the word, with Romans and English, and to all intents and purposes, abdicated; yet can he, in no sense be called abdicated; unless the peoples asserting their rights, and defending themselves against a king, who broke his compact with his subjects, and overturned their government, can be called abdication in them; which no man in his senses can be hardy enough to support, upon any principle of reason, or the laws of England. Let the reader judge, which this is most likely to be, error or design.

These exceptions the editor thought himself bound to make to some parts of this work, to keep clear of the disagreeable imputations of being of a party, of whatsoever denomination, in opposition to truth, and the rights and liberties of the subject.

These laid aside, the work will be found to have many beauties, many excellencies. Some have of late affected to depreciate this history, from an insinuation, made only since the author's death; to wit, that he was never admitted into the secrets of the administration, but made to believe he was a confidant, only to engage him in the list of the ministerial writers of that reign.

*The falshood of this will readily appear, upon perusal of the work. This shews, he knew the most secret springs of every movement in the whole complicated machine. That he states facts, too well known to be contested, in elegant simplicity, and reasons upon
them*

xvi A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

them with the talents of the greatest historian. And thus makes an history, composed rather of negotiations than actions, most entertaining, affecting, and interesting, instead of being, as might be expected, heavy, dull, and disagreeable.

It is now fit to apologize for some errors, which the judicious must discover upon a perusal of this work. It is for this, among other reasons, much to be lamented, that this history was not published under the author's own inspection. It is next to impossible, to copy or print any work without faults, and most so, where the author's eye is wanting.

It is not to be imagined, that even our author, however accurate, however great, was yet strictly and perfectly correct in his writings. Yet, where some seeming inaccuracies in style or expression have been discovered; the deference due to the author, made any alteration too presumptuous a task for the editor. These are therefore left to the amending hand of every sensible and polite reader.

T H E

HISTORICAL
THE
HISTORY
OF THE
FOUR LAST YEARS
OF THE
QUEREN.
BOOK I.

I PROPOSE to give the public an account of the most important affairs at home, during the last session of parliament, as well as of our negotiations of peace abroad, not only during that period, but some time before and since. I shall relate the chief matters transacted by both Houses in that session, and discover the designs carried on by the heads of a discontented party, not only against the ministry, but in some manner against the crown itself: I likewise shall state the debts of the nation, shew by what mismanagement, and to serve what purposes, they were at first contracted, by what negligence or corruption they have so prodigiously grown, and what methods have since been taken to provide, not only for their payment, but to prevent the like mis-

chief for the time to come. Although, in an age like ours, I can expect very few impartial readers, yet I shall strictly follow truth, or what reasonably appeared to me to be such, after the most impartial enquiries I could make, and the best opportunities of being informed by those who were the principal actors or advisers.

Neither shall I mingle panegyric or satire with an history intended to inform posterity, as well as to instruct those of the present age, who may be ignorant or misled; since facts, truly related, are the best applauses, or most lasting reproaches.

Discourses upon subjects relating to the public, usually seem to be calculated for *London* only, and some few miles about it; while the authors suppose their readers to be informed of several particulars, to which those that live remote, are, for the generality, utter strangers. Most people, who frequent this town, acquire a sort of smattering (such as it is) which qualifies them for reading a pamphlet, and finding out what is meant by inuendoes or hints at facts or persons, initial letters of names, wherein gentlemen at a distance, although perhaps of much better understandings, are wholly in the dark: wherefore, that these *Memoirs* may be rendered more generally intelligible and useful, it will be convenient to give the reader a short view of the state and disposition of affairs, when the last session of parliament began: and, because the party-leaders, who had lost their power and places, were, upon that juncture, employing

ploying all their engines in an attempt to re-establish themselves, I shall venture one step farther, and represent so much of their characters, as may be supposed to have influenced their politics.

On the 7th day of *December*, 1711, began the second session of parliament. It was now above a year since the queen had thought fit to put the great offices of state, and of her household, into other hands. However, three of the discontented lords were still in possession of their places; for the Duke of *Marlborough* continued general, the Duke of *Somerset* master of the horse, and the Earl of *Cholmondely*, treasurer of her Majesty's household; likewise great numbers of the same party still kept employments of value and importance, which had not been usual of late years upon any changes of ministry. The Queen, who judged the temper of her people by this house of commons, which a landed interest had freely chosen, found them very desirous of a secure and honourable peace, and disposed to leave the management of it to her own wisdom, and that of her council. She had, therefore, several months before the session began, sent to inform the States General of some overtures which had been made her by the enemy; and, during that summer, her Majesty took several further steps in this great affair, until at length, after many difficulties, a congress for a general treaty at *Utrecht* was agreed upon; the whole proceedings of which previous negotiations between our court and that

of *France*, I shall, in its proper place, very particularly relate.

The nation was already upon a better foot with respect to its debts; for the Earl of *Oxford*, lord treasurer, had, in the preceding session, proposed and effected ways and means in the house of commons (where he was then a member) for providing a parliamentary fund to clear the heavy arrear of ten millions (whereof the greatest part lay upon the navy) without any new burthen (at least after a very few years) to the kingdom; and at the same time he took care to prevent further incumbrances upon that article, by finding ready money for naval provisions, which hath saved the public somewhat more than *cent per cent.* in that mighty branch of our expences.

The clergy were altogether in the interests and the measures of the present ministry, which had appeared so boldly in their defence, during a prosecution against one of their members; where the whole sacred order was understood to be concerned. The zeal shewn for that most religious bill to settle a fund for building fifty new churches in and about the city of *London*, was a fresh obligation; and they were farther highly gratified by her Majesty choosing one of their body to be a great officer of state.*

By this time, likewise, all disputes about these principles, which used originally to divide Whig and Tory, were wholly dropped; and those fantastical

* Dr. Robinson, Lord Bishop of Bristol, to be Lord Privy-Seal.

taistical words ought in justice to have been so too, provided we could have found out more convenient names, whereby to distinguish lovers of peace from lovers of war, or those who would leave her Majesty some degree of freedom in the choice of her ministers, from others who could not be satisfied with her choosing any, except such as she was most averse from. But where a nation is once divided, interest and animosity will keep open the breach, without being supported by any other principles; or, at worst, a body of discontented people can change, and take up what principles they please. As to the disposition of the opposite party, we all remember, that the removal of the last ministry was brought about by several degrees, through which means it happened, that they and their friends were hardly recovered out of one astonishment, before they fell into another; this scene lasted for some months, and was followed by a period of rage and despair, natural to those, who reflect that they have lost a secure game by their own rashness, folly, and want of common management, when, at the same time, they knew by experience, that a watchful and dexterous adversary lay ready to take the advantage. However, some time before the session, the heads of that party began to recollect themselves, and rally their forces, like an enemy that hath been beaten out of the field, but finds he is not pursued; for although the chiefs of this faction were thought to have but little esteem or friendship for each other, yet

they perfectly agreed in one general end, of distressing, by all possible methods, the new administration, wherein, if they could succeed so far as to put the Queen under any great necessity, another parliament must be called, and perhaps the power devolve again into their own hands.

The issue and event of that grand confederacy appearing in both houses, although under a different form, upon the very first day the parliament met; I cannot better begin the relation of affairs, commencing from that period, than by a thorough detection of the whole intrigue, carried on with the greatest privacy and application, which must be acknowledged to have, for several days, disconcerted some of the ministry, as well as dispirited their friends, and the consequences whereof have, in reality, been so very pernicious to the kingdom.

But because the principal leaders in this design are the same persons, to whom, since the loss of their power, all the opposition has been owing, which the court received, either in treaties abroad, or the administration at home, it may not be improper to describe those qualities in each of them, which few of their admirers will deny, and which appears chiefly to have influenced them in acting their several parts upon the public stage; for I do not intend to draw their characters entire, which would be tedious, and little to the purpose; but shall only single out those passions, acquirements, and habits, which the owners were most likely to transfer into their political schemes.

schemes, and which were most subservient to the designs they seemed to have in view.

The Lord *Sommers* may very deservedly be reputed the head and oracle of that party; he hath raised himself, by the concurrence of many circumstances, to the greatest employments of the state, without the least support from birth or fortune; he hath constantly, and with great steadiness, cultivated those principles under which he grew. That accident which first produced him into the world, of pleading for the bishops whom King *James* had sent to the Tower, might have proved a piece of merit as honourable as it was fortunate; but the old republican spirit, which the revolution had restored, began to teach other lessons; That since we had accepted a new King from a Calvinistical commonwealth, we must likewise admit new maxims in religion and government: But since the nobility and gentry would probably adhere to the established church, and to the rights of monarchy, as delivered down from their ancestors, it was the practice of these politicians to introduce such men as were perfectly indifferent to any or no religion, and who were not likely to inherit much loyalty from those to whom they owed their birth. Of this number was the person I am now describing. I have hardly known any man with talents more proper to acquire and preserve the favour of a prince; never offending in word or gesture, which were, in the highest degree, courteous and complaisant, wherein he set an excellent example to his colleagues,

leagues, which they did not think fit to follow: But this extreme civility, which is universal and undistinguished, and in private conversation, where he observeth it as inviolably as if he were in the greatest assembly, is sometimes censured as formal.

Two reasons are assigned for this behaviour: First, that from the consciousness of his humble original, he keepeth all familiarity at the utmost distance, which otherwise might be apt to intrude: The second, that being sensible how subject he is to violent passions, he avoideth all incitements to them, by teaching those he converses with, from his own example, to keep a great way within the bounds of decency and respect. And it is indeed true, that no man is more apt to take fire upon the least appearance of provocation, which temper he strives to subdue with the utmost violence upon himself; so that his breast has been seen to heave, and his eyes to sparkle with rage, in those very moments when his words and the cadence of his voice were in the humblest and softest manner. Perhaps, that force upon his nature, may cause that insatiable love of revenge, which his detractors lay to his charge, who consequently reckon dissimulation among his chief perfections. Avarice he hath none; and his ambition is gratified by being the uncontested head of his party. With an excellent understanding, adorned by all the polite parts of learning, he hath very little taste for conversation, to which he prefers the pleasure of reading

ing and thinking; and, in the intervals of his time, amuseth himself with an illiterate chaplain, an humble companion, or a favourite servant.

These are some few distinguishing marks in the character of that person who now presideth over the discontented party, although he be not answerable for all their mistakes; and if his precepts had been more strictly followed, perhaps their power would not have been so easily shaken. I have been assured, and heard him profess, that he was against engaging in that foolish prosecution of Dr. *Sacheverel*, as what he foresaw was likely to end in their ruin: That he blamed the rough demeanour of some persons to the Queen, as a great failure in prudence; and that when it appeared her Majesty was firmly resolved into a treaty of peace, he advised his friends not to oppose it in its progress, but find fault with it after it was made, which would be a copy of the like usage themselves had met with after the treaty of *Ryswick*, and the safest, as well as the most probable way of disgracing the promoters and advisers. I have been the larger in representing to the reader some idea of this extraordinary genius; because, whatever attempt hath hitherto been made with any appearance of conduct, or probability of success, to restore the dominion of that party, was infallibly contrived by him; and I prophesy the same for the future, as long as his age and infirmities will leave him capable of business.

The Duke of *Marlborough*'s character hath been so variously

variously drawn, and is indeed of so mixed a nature in itself, that it is hard to pronounce on either side, without the suspicion of flattery or detraction. I shall say nothing of his military accomplishments, which the opposite reports of his friends and enemies among the soldiers, have rendered problematical: But if he be among those who delight in war, it is agreed to be not for the reasons common with other generals. Those maligners, who deny him personal valour, seem not to consider that this accusation is charged at a venture, since the person of a wise general is too seldom exposed, to form any judgment in the matter; and that fear which is said to have sometimes disconcerted him before an action, might probably be more for his army than for himself. He was bred in the height of what is called the Tory Principle, and continued with a strong bias that way, till the other party had bid higher for him than his friends could afford to give. His want of literature is in some sort supplied by a good understanding, a degree of natural elocution, and that knowledge of the world, which is learned in armies and courts. We are not to take the height of his ambition from his soliciting to be general for life; I am persuaded his chief motive was the pay and perquisites by continuing the war, and that he had then no intention of settling the crown in his family, his only son having been dead some years before: He is noted to be master of great temper, able to govern, or very well disguise his passions,

FOUR LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 11

passions, which are all melted down or extinguished in his love of wealth. That liberality which nature has denied him, with respect of money, he makes up by a great profusion of promises; but this perfection, so necessary in courts, is not very successful in camps among soldiers, who are not refined enough to understand or to relish it.

His wife, the Dutchess, may justly challenge her place in this list: it is to her the Duke is chiefly indebted for his greatness and his fall. For above twenty years, she possessed, without a rival, the favours of the most indulgent mistress in the world; nor ever missed one single opportunity that fell in her way, of improving it to her own advantage. She hath preserved a tolerable court-reputation, with respect of love and gallantry; but three furies reigned in her breast, the most mortal enemies of all softer passions, which were, sordid avarice, disdainful pride, and ungovernable rage. By the last of these, often breaking out in sallies of the most unpardonable sort, she had long alienated her sovereign's mind, before it appeared to the world. This lady is not without some degree of wit; and hath, in her time, affected the character of it, by the usual method of arguing against religion, and proving the doctrine of Christianity to be impossible and absurd. Imagine what such a spirit, irritated by the loss of power, favour and employment, is capable of acting or attempting, and then I have said enough.

The

The next in order to be mentioned, is the Earl of *Godolphin*. It is said he was originally intended for a trade, before his friends preferred him to be a page at court, which some very unjustly have objected as a reproach. He hath risen gradually in four reigns; and was more constant to his second master King *James*, than some others who had received much greater obligations; for he attended the abdicated King to the sea-side, and kept constant correspondence with him till the day of his death. He always professed a sort of a passion for the Queen at *St. Germain's*; and his letters were to her in a style of what the *French* call *double-entendre*, in a mixture of love and respect: He used frequently to send her from hence little presents of those things, which are agreeable to ladies, for which he always asked King *William's* leave, as if without her privity; because, if she had known that circumstance, it was to be supposed she would not accept them. Physiognomists would hardly discover, by consulting the aspect of this Lord, that his predominant passions were love and play. That he could sometimes scratch out a song in praise of his mistress with a pencil and a card; or that he hath tears at command, like a woman, to be used either in an intrigue of gallantry or politics. His alliance with the *Marlborough* family, and his passion for the Dutchess, were the cords which dragged him into a party whose principles he naturally disliked, and whose leaders he personally hated, as they did him; he became a thorough convert by
a perfect

a perfect trifle, taking pet at a nick-name * delivered by Dr. Sacheverel, with great indiscretion, from the pulpit, which he applied to himself. And this is one, among many instances, given by his enemies, that magnanimity is none of his virtues.

The Earl of *Sunderland* is another of that alliance. It seems to have been this gentleman's fortune, to have learned his divinity from his uncle, and his politics from his tutor. † It may be thought a blemish in his character, that he hath much fallen from the height of those republican principles with which he began; for, in his father's lifetime, while he was a member of the house of commons, he would often, among his familiar friends, refuse the title of Lord, (as he hath done to myself), swear that he would never be called otherwise than *Charles Spencer*, and hoped to see the day when there should not be a peer in *England*. His understanding, at the best, is of the middling size; neither hath he much improved it, either in reality, or, which is very unfortunate, even in the opinion of the world, by an overgrown library. It is hard to decide, whether he learned that rough way of treating his sovereign from the lady he is allied to, or whether it be the result of his own nature. The sense of the injuries he hath done, renders him (as it is very natural) implacable towards those to whom he hath given

* Volpone.

† Dr. Trimnel, since Bishop of Winton.

the greatest cause of complaint ; for which reason, he will never forgive either the Queen, or the present treasurer.

The Earl of *Wharton* hath filled the province allotted him by his colleagues, with sufficiency equal to the ablest of them all ; he hath imbibed his father's * principles in government, but dropt his religion, and took up no other in its stead ; excepting that circumstance, he is a firm presbyterian. He is perfectly skilled in all the arts of managing at elections, as well as in large baits of pleasure for making converts of young men of quality upon their first appearance ; in which public service, he contracted such large debts, that his brethren were forced, out of mere justice, to leave *Ireland* at his mercy, where he had only time to set himself right. Although the graver heads of his party think him too profligate and abandoned, yet they dare not be ashamed of him ; for, besides his talents above mentioned, he is very useful in parliament, being a ready speaker, and content to employ his gift upon such occasions, where those who conceive they have any remainder of reputation or modesty, are ashamed to appear. In short, he is an incontestible instance to discover the true nature of faction ; since, being over-run with every quality which produceth contempt and hatred in all other commerce of the world, he hath, notwithstanding, been able to make so considerable a figure.

The

* The Earl his father was a rigid Presbyterian.

The Lord *Cowper*, although his merits are later than the rest, deserveth a rank in this great council. He was considerable in the station of a practising lawyer; but, as he was raised to be a chancellor and a peer, without passing through any of the intermediate steps, which, in late times, hath been the constant practice; and, little skilled in the nature of government, or the true interest of princes, further than the municipal or common law of *England*, his abilities, as to foreign affairs, did not equally appear in the council. Some improper passages of his life were thought to disqualify him for that office, by which he was to be the guardian of the Queen's conscience; but these difficulties were easily overruled by the authors of his promotion, who wanted a person that would be subservient to all their designs; wherein they were not disappointed. As to his other accomplishments, he was what we usually call a piece of a scholar, and a good logical reasoner, if this were not too often allayed by a fallacious way of managing an argument, which makes him apt to deceive the unwary, and sometimes to deceive himself.

The last to be spoken of in this list, is the Earl of *Nottingham*, a convert and acquisition to that party since their fall, to which he contributed his assistance, I mean his words, and probably his wishes; for he had always lived under the constant visible profession of principles directly opposite to those of his new friends. His vehement and frequent speeches against admitting the

Prince of *Orange* to the throne, are yet to be seen; and although a numerous family gave a specious pretence to his love of power and money for taking an employment under that monarch, yet he was allowed to have always kept a reserve of allegiance to his exiled master; of which his friends produce several instances, and some while he was secretary of state to King *William*. His outward regularity of life, his appearance of religion, and seeming zeal for the church, as they are an effect, so they are the excuse of that stiffness and formality, with which his nature is fraught. His austere complexion disposeth him to rigour and severity, which his admirers palliate with the name of zeal. No man had ever a sincerer countenance, or more truly representing his mind and manners. He hath some knowledge in the law, very amply sufficient to defend his property at least: a facility of utterance, descended to him from his father, and improved by a few sprinklings of literature, hath brought himself and some few admirers into an opinion of his eloquence. He is every way inferior to his brother *Guernsey*, but chiefly in those talents which he most values and pretends to, over whom, nevertheless, he preserveth an ascendant. His great ambition was, to be the head of those who were called the Church Party; and indeed, his grave solemn deportment and countenance, seconded by abundance of professions for their service, had given many of them an opinion of his veracity, which he interpreted as their sense of his judgment.

ment and wisdom; and this mistake lasted till the time of his defection, of which it was partly the cause: but then it plainly appeared, that he had not credit to bring over one single profelyte to keep himself in countenance.

These lineaments, however imperfectly drawn, may help the reader's imagination to conceive what sort of persons those were, who had the boldness to encounter the Queen and ministry, at the head of a great majority of the landed interest; and this upon a point, where the quiet of her Majesty's reign, the security, or, at least, the freedom of her person, the lives of her most faithful friends, and the settling of the nation by a peace, were, in the consequences, deeply concerned.

During the dominion of the late men in power, addresses had been procured from both houses to the Queen, representing their opinion, that no peace could be secure with *Britain*, while *Spain*, or the *West-Indies*, remained in the possession of the *Bourbon* family. But her Majesty having, for reasons which have been often told to the world, and which will not be soon forgotten, called a new parliament, and chose a new set of servants, began to view things and persons in another light. She considered the necessities of her people, the distant prospect of a peace upon such an improbable condition, which was never mentioned or understood in the grand alliance; the unequal burthen she bore in the war, by the practices of the allies, upon the corruption of

some whom she most trusted, or, perhaps, by the practices of these upon the allies; and, lastly, by the changes which death had brought about in the *Austrian* and *Bourbon* families: upon all which motives, she was prevailed upon to receive some overtures from *France*, in behalf of herself and the whole confederacy. The several steps of this negotiation, from its first rise to the time I am now writing, shall be related in another part of this history. Let it suffice for the present to say, that such proposals were received from *France*, as were thought sufficient, by our court, whereupon to appoint time and place for a general treaty; and soon after the opening of the session, the Bishop of *Bristol* *, lord privy seal, was dispatched to *Utrecht*, where he and the Earl of *Strafford* were appointed plenipotentiaries for the Queen of *Great Britain*.

The managers of the discontented party, who, during the whole summer, had observed the motions of the court running fast towards a peace, began to gather up all their forces, in order to oppose her Majesty's designs when the parliament should meet: their only strength was in the house of Lords, where the Queen had a very crazy majority, made by those whose hearts were in the other interest, but whose fears, expectations, or immediate dependance, had hitherto kept them within bounds. There were two Lords, upon whose abilities and influence, of a very different nature, the managers built their strongest hopes.

* Dr. Robinson, afterwards Bishop of London.

hopes. The first was the Duke of *Somerset*, master of the horse. This Duke, as well as his Dutchess, were in a good degree of favour with the Queen, upon the score of some civilities and respects her Majesty had received from them while she was Princess. For some years after the Revolution, he never appeared at court, but was looked upon as a favourer of the abdicated family; and it was the late Earl of *Rocheſter* who first presented him to King *William*. However, since the time he came into employment, which was towards the close of the last reign, he hath been a constant zealous member of the other party, but never failed either in attendance or respect towards the Queen's person, or, at most, only threatened, sometimes, that he would serve no longer, while such or such men were employed; which, as things went then, was not reckoned any offence at all, against duty or good behaviour. He had been much caressed and flattered by the Lords of the *Juncto**, who sometimes went so far, as to give him hopes of the crown in reversion to his family, upon failure of the house of *Hanover*. All this worked so far upon his imagination, that he affected to appear the head of their party, to which his talents were no way proportioned; for they soon grew weary of his indigested schemes, and his imperious manner of obtruding them: they began to drop him at their meetings, or contradicted him, with little ceremony, when he happened to be there; which his

haughty

* A cant given to five Lords of that party.

haughty nature was not able to brook. Thus, a mortal quarrel was kindled between him and the whole assembly of party leaders: so that, upon the Queen's first intentions of changing her ministry, soon after the trial of Dr. *Sacheverel*, he appointed several meetings with *Harley* alone, in the most private manner, in places and at times least liable to suspicion. He employed all his credit with the Queen, to drive on the removal of my Lord *Godolphin* and the rest; and in the council treated the small remainder, who continued some time longer in their places, with all possible marks of hatred or disdain: but, when the question came for dissolving the parliament, he stopped short. He had already fatiated his resentments, which were not against things, but persons; he furiously opposed that council, and promised to undertake for the parliament himself. When the Queen had declared her pleasure for the dissolution, he flew off in a greater rage than ever, opposed the court in all elections where he had influence or power, and made very humble advances to reconcile himself with the discarded Lords, especially the Earl of *Godolphin*, who is reported to have treated him at *Newmarket* in a most contemptuous manner. But the sincerity of his repentance, which appeared manifestly in the first session of the new parliament, and the use he might be of by his own remaining credit, or rather that of his Dutcheß, with the Queen, at length begat a reconciliation. He still kept his employment and place in the cabinet-council, but

but had never appeared there, from an avowed dislike of all persons and proceedings. It happened about the end of the summer 1711, at *Windsor*, when the cabinet-council was summoned, this Duke, whether by directions from his teachers, or the instability of his nature, took a fancy to resume his place; and a chair was brought accordingly: upon which, Mr. Secretary *St. John* refused to assist; and gave his reasons, that he would never sit in council with a man who had so often betrayed them, and was openly engaged with a faction, which endeavoured to obstruct all her Majesty's measures. Thus, the council was put off to next day, and the Duke made no farther attempts to be there. But upon this incident, he declared open war against the ministry; and from that time to the session, employed himself in spiriting up several depending Lords to adhere to their friends, when an occasion should offer. The arguments he made use of were, That those in power designed to make an ignominious and unsecure peace, without consulting the allies; that this could be no otherways prevented, than by an address from the Lords, to signify their opinion, that no peace could be honourable or secure, while *Spain* or the *West-Indies* remained in any of the *Bourbon* family; upon which several farther resolutions and inquiries would naturally follow; that the differences between the two houses upon this, must either be made up by the commons agreeing with the Lords, or must end in a dissolution; which would

would be followed by a return of the old ministry; who, by the force of money and management, could easily get another parliament to their wishes. He farther assured them boldly, that the Queen herself was at the bottom of this design, and had empowered him to desire their votes against the peace, as a point that would be for her service; and therefore, they need not be in pain upon account of their pensions, or any farther marks of favour they expected. Thus, by reviving the old art of using her Majesty's authority against her person, he prevailed over some who were not otherways in a station of life to oppose the crown; and his proselytes may pretend to some share of pity, since he offered for an argument his own example, who kept his place and favour, after all he had done to deserve the loss of both.

The other Lord, in whom the discontented managers placed much of their hopes, was the Earl of *Nottingham*, already mentioned; than whom, no man ever appeared to hate them more, or to be more pleased at their fall, partly from his avowed principles, but chiefly from the hopes he had in sharing their spoils. But it fell out, that he was no way acceptable to the Queen, or her new servants: these apprehended no little trouble and impediment to the public business, from his restless, talkative, overweening manner, if once he was suffered to have any part in affairs; and he stood very ill with the court, having made a motion in the house of Lords, and
in

in her Majesty's presence, that the electoral prince of *Hanover* might be invited to reside in *England*, although he had before declared to the Queen, how much he was against that proposal, when it was first offered by the other party. However, some very considerable employments had been given to his nearest relations; and he had one or two offers for himself, which he thought fit to refuse, as not equal to his merits and character. Upon the Earl of *Rocheſter*'s deceaſe, he conceived that the crown would hardly overlook him for preſident of the council, and deeply reſented that diſappointment. But the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, Lord privy ſeal, dying ſome time after, he found that office was firſt deſigned for the Earl of *Jerſey*; and, upon this Lord's ſudden death, was actually diſpoſed of to the Biſhop of *Briſtol*; by which he plainly ſaw, that the Queen was determined againſt giving him any opportunity of directing in affairs, or diſplaying his eloquence in the cabinet-council. He had now ſhaken off all remains of patience or temper; and from the contemplations of his own diſappointments, fell, as it is natural, to find fault with the public management, and to aſſure his neighbours in the country, that the nation was in imminent danger of being ruined. The diſcontented Lords were ſoon apprized of this great change; and the Duke of *Roxburgh*, the Earl's ſon-in-law, was diſpatched down to *Burleigh on the Hill*, to cultivate his preſent diſpoſitions, and offer him whatever terms he pleaſed to inſiſt on. The Earl immediately

diately agreed to fall in with any measures for distressing or destroying the ministry. But, in order to preserve his reputation with the church-party, and, perhaps, bring them over to his interests, he proposed that a bill should be brought into the house of Lords, for preventing occasional conformity, and be unanimously agreed to by all the peers of the Low-church principle; which would convince the world of their good intentions to the established religion; and that their oppositions to the court wholly proceeded from their care of the nation, and concern for its honour and safety. These preparations were public enough; and the ministers had sufficient time to arm themselves: but they seem to have acted, in this juncture, like men who trusted to the goodness of their cause, and the general inclinations of the kingdom, rather than to those arts which our corruptions have too often made necessary. Calculations were indeed taken, by which it was computed, that there would be a majority of ten upon the side of the court. I remember to have told my Lord *Harcourt* and Mr. *Prior*, that a majority of ten was only a majority of five; because, if their adversaries could bring off five, the number would be equal: and so it happened to prove; for the mistake lay in counting upon the bare promises of those who were wholly in the interest of the old ministry, and were only kept in awe by the fear of offending the crown, and losing their subsistence, wherein the Duke of *Somerset* had given them full satisfaction.

faction. With these dispositions of both parties, and fears and hopes of the event, the parliament met upon the seventh of *December* 1711. The Queen's speech (excepting what related to supplies) was chiefly taken up in telling both houses what progress she had made towards a general peace, and her hopes of bringing it to a speedy conclusion. As soon as her Majesty was withdrawn, the House of Lords, in a committee, resolved upon an address of thanks; to which the Earl of *Nottingham* proposed an addition of the following clause: "And we do beg leave to represent it to your Majesty, as the humble opinion and advice of this house, that no peace can be safe or honourable to *Great Britain* or *Europe*, if *Spain* and the *West-Indies* are to be allotted to any branch of the house of *Bourbon*."

He was seconded by the Earl of *Scarborough*; and, after a debate of several hours, the question for the clause was carried, as I remember, by not above two voices. The next day the house agreed with the committee, the depending lords having taken fresh courage from their principals, and some who professed themselves very humble servants to the present ministry, and enemies to the former, went along with the stream, pretending not to see the consequences that must visibly follow. The address was presented on the eleventh; to which her Majesty's answer was very short and dry. She distinguished their thanks from the rest of the piece; and, in return to Lord *Nottingham's* clause, said, She should be sorry that

any body could think she would not do her utmost endeavours to recover *Spain* and the *West-Indies* from the house of *Bourbon*. Upon the fifteenth of *December*, the Earl of *Nottingham* likewise brought in the bill to prevent occasional conformity, (although under a disguised title), which met with no opposition, but was swallowed by those very lords who always appeared with the utmost violence against the least advantage to the established church. But, in the house of commons there appeared a very different spirit; for, when one Mr. *Robert Walpole* offered a clause of the same nature with that of the Earl of *Nottingham*, it was rejected with contempt, by a very great majority. Their address was, in the most dutiful manner, approving what her Majesty had done towards a peace, and trusting entirely to her wisdom in the future management of it. This address was presented to the Queen a day before that of the lords, and received an answer distinguishedly gracious: but the other party was noways discouraged by either answer, which they looked upon as only matter of course, and the sense of the ministry, contrary to that of the Queen.

The parliament sat as long as the approaching festival would allow; and, upon the twenty-second, the land-tax and occasional bills having received the royal assent, the house of commons adjourned to the fourteenth of *January* following; but the adjournment of the lords was only to the second, the prevailing party there being in haste
to

to pursue the consequences of the Earl of *Nottingham's* clause, which they hoped would end in the ruin of the treasurer, and overthrow of the ministry; and therefore took the advantage of this interval, that they might not be disturbed by the commons.

When this address against any peace without *Spain*, &c. was carried in the house of lords, it is not easy to describe the effects it had upon most mens passions. The partizans of the old ministry triumphed loudly, and without any reserve, as if the game were their own. The Earl of *Wharton* was observed in the house to smile, and put his hands to his neck, when any of the ministry was speaking; by which he would have it understood, that some heads were in danger. *Parker*, the chief justice, began already, with great zeal and officiousness, to prosecute authors and printers of weekly and other papers, writ in defence of the administration. In short, joy and vengeance sat visible in every countenance of that party.

On the other side, all well-wishers to the queen, the church, or the peace, were equally dejected; and the treasurer stood the foremost mark, both of his enemies fury, and the censure of his friends. Among the latter, some imputed this fatal miscarriage to his procrastinating nature; others to his unmeasurable public thrift: both parties agreed, that a first minister, with very moderate skill in affairs, might easily have governed the event; and some began to doubt, whether the great fame of his abilities, acquired

in other stations, were what he justly deserved. All this he knew well enough, and heard it with phlegm; neither did it make any alteration in his countenance or humour. He told *Monf. Buys*, the *Dutch* envoy, two days before the parliament sat, that he was sorry for what was like to pass, because the States would be the first sufferers, which he desired the envoy to remember: and to his nearest friends, who appeared in pain about the public or themselves, he only said, that all would be well, and desired them not to be frightened.

It was, I conceive, upon these motives, that the treasurer advised her majesty to create twelve new lords, and thereby disable the sting of faction for the rest of her life. This promotion was so ordered, that a third part were of those, on whom, or their posterity, the peerage would naturally devolve; and the rest were such, whose merit, birth and fortune, could admit of no exception.

The adverse party being thus driven down by open force, had nothing left but to complain, which they loudly did, That it was a pernicious example set for ill princes to follow, who, by the same rule, might make, at any time, an hundred as well as twelve; and, by these means, become masters of the house of lords whenever they pleased, which would be dangerous to our liberties. To this it was answered, That ill princes seldom trouble themselves to look for precedents; that men of great estates will not be less fond of preserving their liberties when they are created peers; that,

that, in such a government as this, where the prince holds the balance between two great powers, the nobility and people, it is the very nature of his office, to remove from one scale into the other, or sometimes put his own weight into the lightest, so as to bring both to an equilibrium; and, lastly, that the other party had been above twenty years corrupting the nobility with republican principles, which nothing but the royal prerogative could hinder from over-spreading us. The conformity bill, above-mentioned, was prepared by the Earl of *Nottingham*, before the parliament met, and brought in at the same time with the clause against peace, according to the bargain made between him and his new friends. This, he hoped, would not only save his credit with the church-party, but bring them over to his politics; since they must needs be convinced, that, instead of changing his own principles, he had prevailed on the greatest enemies to the established religion, to be the first movers, in a law for the perpetual settlement of it. Here it was worth observing, with what resignation the junto-lords (as they were then called) were submitted to by their adherents and followers; for it is well known, that the chief among the dissenting teachers in town were consulted upon this affair, and such arguments used, as had power to convince them, that nothing could be of greater advantage to their cause, than the passing this bill. I did, indeed, see a letter at that time from one of

them, to a great man *, complaining that they were betrayed and undone by their pretended friends ; but they were, in general, very well satisfied, upon promises that this law should be repealed, and others more in their favour enacted, as soon as their friends should be re-established. But nothing seemed more extraordinary than the event of this refined management, by which the Earl of *Nottingham* was so far from bringing over profelytes (wherein his abilities fell very short even of the Duke of *Somerset's*) or preserving the reputation of a firm Churchman, that very few people did so much as imagine he had any such design : only, when he brought in the bill, they conceived it was some wonderful deep reach of politics, which they could not comprehend : however, they liked the thing ; and, without troubling themselves about the persons or motives from whence it rose, it had a very speedy passage through both houses.

It must be confessed, that some attempt of this nature was much more necessary to the leaders of that party than is generally thought ; the desire of power and revenge was common to them all ; but several among them were also conscious that they stood in need of protection, whose safety was therefore concerned in the design of ruining the ministry, as well as their ambition. The Duke of *Marlborough* foresaw those examinations which were afterwards made into some parts of his management, and was apprehensive of a great deal

* It was to the Treasurer himself.

deal more; that the parliament would, perhaps, enquire into the particulars of the negotiation at the *Hague* in 1709; for what ends, and by whose advice, the propositions of peace from *France* were rejected: besides, he dreaded, lest that mysterious policy might be laid open to the world, of desiring the queen to constitute him general for life, which was a very tender point, and would admit of too much proof. It is true indeed, that whilst the Duke's affair was under the consideration of the house of commons, one of his creatures * (whether by direction or otherwise) assured the speaker, with a very serious countenance, that the world was mistaken in censuring his lord upon this article; for it was the Queen who pressed the Duke to accept that commission, and, upon his humble refusal, conceived her first displeasure against him. How such a defence would have passed, if it had been offered in form, is easier to be conceived, than how any person in his wits could have the confidence to affirm it; which last would, indeed, be hard to believe, if there were any room left for doubt.

The Earl of *Godolphin* wanted protection, notwithstanding the act of general pardon which had been procured by his credit, and was principally calculated for his own security: he knew that his long neglect of compelling the accountants to pass their accounts, might be punished as a breach of trust: he had run the kingdom into immense debts, by taking up stores for the navy, upon a
vast

* *Craggs*, father to the Secretary.

vast discount, without parliamentary security, for which he could be able to plead neither law nor necessity; and he had given way at least to some proceedings, not very justifiable, in relation to remittances of money, whereby the public had suffered considerable losses. The barrier treaty sat heavy upon the lord *Townsend's* spirits; because, if it should be laid before the house of commons, whoever negotiated that affair, might be subject to the most severe animadversion: and the Earl of *Wharton's* administration in *Ireland* was looked upon as a sufficient ground to impeach him, at least for high crimes and misdemeanours.

The managers in *Holland* were sufficiently apprized of all this; and *Monf. Buys*, their minister here, took care to cultivate that good correspondence between his masters and their *English* friends, which becomes two confederates pursuing the same end. This man had formerly been employed in *England* from that republic, and understood a little of our language. His proficiency in learning has been such, as to furnish, now and then, a *Latin* quotation; of which he is as liberal as his stock will admit. His knowledge in government reaches no farther than that of his own country, by which he forms and cultivates matters of state for the rest of the world. His reasonings upon politics are with great profusion at all meetings; and he leaves the company with entire satisfaction that he hath fully convinced them. He is well provided with that inferior sort of cunning, which is the growth of his country,

try, of a standard with the genius of the people, and capable of being transferred into every condition of life among them, from the boor to the burgomaster. He came into *England* with instructions, authorizing him to accommodate all differences between her Majesty and the States; but having first advised with the confederate lords, he assured the ministry, he had powers to hear their proposals, but none to conclude: and, having represented to his masters what had been told him by the adverse party, he prevailed with them to revoke his powers. He found the interest of those who withstood the court, would exactly fall in with the designs of the States, which were, to carry on the war as long as they could, at our own expence, and to see themselves at the head of a treaty of peace, whenever they were disposed to apply to *France*, or to receive overtures from thence. The Emperor, upon many powerful reasons, was utterly averse from all councils, which aimed at putting an end to the war, without delivering him the whole dominion of *Spain*: Nay, the Elector of *Hanover* himself, although presumptive heir to the crown of *England*, and obliged, by all sorts of ties, to cultivate her Majesty's friendship, was so far deceived by misrepresentations from hence, that he seemed to suffer Monsr. *Bothmar*, his envoy here, to print and publish a memorial in *English*, directly disapproving all her majesty's proceedings; which memorial, as appeareth by the style and manner of it, was all drawn up, or at least digested, by some
party

party pen on this side of the water. Cautious writers, in order to avoid offence or danger, and to preserve the respect even due to foreign princes, do usually charge the wrong steps in a court altogether upon the persons employed; but I should have taken a securer method, and have been wholly silent in this point, if I had not then conceived some hope, that his Electoral Highness might possibly have been a stranger to the memorial of his resident: For, first, the manner of delivering it to the secretary of state was out of all form, and almost as extraordinary as the thing itself. Monsieur *Bothmar* having obtained an hour of Mr. Secretary *St. John*, talked much to him upon the subject of which that memorial consists; and, upon going away, desired he might leave a paper with the secretary, which, he said, contained the substance of what he had been discoursing. This paper Mr. *St. John* laid aside, among others of little consequence; and, a few days after, saw a memorial in print, which he found, upon comparing, to be the same with what *Bothmar* had left.

During this short recess of parliament, and upon the fifth day of *January*, Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* landed in *England*. Before he left his ship, he asked a person who came to meet him, Whether the *Nero* Lords were made, and what was their number? He was attended through the streets with a mighty rabble of people, to *St. James's*, where Mr. Secretary *St. John* introduced him to the Queen, who received him with
great

great civility. His arrival had been long expected; and the prospect of his journey had as long been formed by the party-leaders here, in concert with *Monf. Buys*, and *Monf. Bothmar*, the *Dutch* and *Hanover* envoys. This prince brought over credentials from the Emperor, with offers to continue the war upon a new foot, very advantageous to *Britain*; part of which, by her Majesty's commands, *Mr. St. John* soon after produced to the house of commons, where they were rejected, not without some indignation, by a great majority. The Emperor's proposals, as far as related to *Spain*, were communicated to the house in the words following:

“His Imperial Majesty judges, that 40,000 men will be sufficient for this service; and that the whole expence of the war in *Spain* may amount to four millions of crowns, towards which his Imperial Majesty offers to make up the troops, which he has in that country, to 30,000 men, and to take one million of crowns upon himself.”

On the other side, the house of commons voted a third part of these four millions as a sufficient quota for her Majesty toward that service: for, it was supposed, the Emperor ought to bear the greatest proportion in a point that so nearly concerned him; or, at least, that *Britain* contributing one-third, the other two might be paid by his Imperial Majesty and the States, as they could settle it between them.

The design of Prince *Eugene's* journey, was to raise

raise a spirit in the parliament and people for continuing the war: For nothing was thought impossible to a Prince of such high reputation in arms, in great favour with the Emperor, and empowered to make such proposals from his master, as the ministry durst not reject. It appeared by an intercepted letter from Count *Gallas*, (formerly the Emperor's envoy here) that the Prince was wholly left to his liberty of making what offers he pleased in the Emperor's name; for, if the parliament could once be brought to raise funds, and the war go on, the ministers here must be under a necessity of applying and expending those funds; and the Emperor could afterwards find twenty reasons and excuses, as he had hitherto done, for not furnishing his quota. Therefore, Prince *Eugene*, for some time, kept himself within generals, until being pressed to explain himself upon that particular of the war in *Spain*, which the house of *Austria* pretended to have most at heart, he made that offer above mentioned, as a most extraordinary effort; and so it was, considering how little they had ever done before, towards the recovering that monarchy to themselves. But, shameful as these proposals were, few believed the Emperor would observe them, or, indeed, that he ever intended to spare so many men as would make up an army of 30,000 men, to be employed in *Spain*.

Prince *Eugene's* visit to his friends in *England* continued longer than was expected; he was every day entertained magnificently, by persons of quality

quality of both parties; he went frequently to the treasurer, and sometimes affected to do it in private; he visited the other ministers and great officers of the court, but, on all occasions, publickly owned the character and appellation of a Whig; and, in secret, had continual meetings with the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the other discontented lords, where M. *Bothmar* usually assisted. It is the great ambition of this prince to be perpetually engaged in war, without considering the cause or consequence, and to see himself at the head of an army, where only he can make any considerable figure. He is not without a natural tincture of that cruelty, sometimes charged upon the *Italians*; and, being nursed in arms, hath so far extinguished pity and remorse, that he will, at any time, sacrifice a thousand mens lives, to a caprice of glory or revenge. He had conceived an incurable hatred for the treasurer, as the person who principally opposed this insatiable passion for war; said he had hopes of others; but that the treasurer was *un mechant diable*, not to be moved: therefore, since it was impossible for him or his friends to compass their designs, while that minister continued at the head of affairs, he proposed an expedient, often practised by those of his country, that the treasurer (to use his own expression) should be taken off, *à la negligence*; that this might easily be done, and pass for an effect of chance, if it were preceded by encouraging some proper people to commit small riots in the night: and, in several parts of

the town, a crew of obscure ruffians were accordingly employed about that time, who probably exceeded their commission, and, mixing themselves with those disorderly people, that often infest the streets at midnight, acted inhuman outrages on many persons, whom they cut and mangled in the faces and arms, and other parts of the body, without any provocation. But an effectual stop was soon put to those enormities, which probably prevented the execution of the main design.

I am very sensible, that such an imputation ought not to be charged upon any person whatsoever, upon slight grounds, or doubtful surmises, and that those who think I am able to produce no better, will judge this passage to be fitter for a libel than a history; but, as the account was given by more than one person, who was at the meeting, so it was confirmed, past all contradiction, by several intercepted letters and papers: And it is most certain, that the rage of the defeated party, upon their frequent disappointments, was so far inflamed, as to make them capable of some counsels yet more violent and desperate than this; which, however, by the vigilance of those near the person of her Majesty, were happily prevented.

On the 30th of *December*, 1711, the Duke of *Marlborough* was removed from all his employments, the Duke of *Ormond* succeeding him as general, both here and in *Flanders*. This proceeding of the court, as far as it related to the
Duke

Duke of *Marlborough*, was much censured both at home and abroad, and by some who did not wish ill to the present situation of affairs. There were few examples of a commander being disgraced, after an uninterrupted course of success for many years against a formidable enemy, and this before a period was put to the war. Those who had least esteem for his valour and conduct, thought it not prudent to remove a general, whose troops were perpetually victorious while he was at their head; because this had infused into his soldiers an opinion, that they should always conquer, and into the enemy, that they should always be beaten; than which, nothing is held to be of greater moment, either in the progress of a war, or upon the day of battle: and I have good grounds to affirm, that these reasons had sufficient weight with the Queen and ministry to have kept the Duke of *Marlborough* in his post, if a way could have been found out to have done it with any assurance of safety to the nation. It is the misfortune of princes, that the effects of their displeasure make usually much more noise than the causes: thus, the sound of the Duke's fall was heard further than many of the reasons which made it necessary, whereof, though some were visible enough, yet others lay more in the dark.

Upon the Duke's last return from *Flanders*, he had fixed his arrival to town (whether by accident or otherwise) upon the 17th of *November*, called Queen *Elizabeth's* day, when great num-

bers of his creatures and admirers had thought fit to revive an old ceremony among the rabble, of burning the Pope in effigy; for the performance of which, with more solemnity, they had made extraordinary preparations. From the several circumstances of the expence in this intended pageantry, and of the persons who promoted it, the court, apprehensive of a design to inflame the common people, thought fit to order, that the several figures should be seized as popish trinkets, and guards were ordered to patrol for preventing any tumultuous assemblies. Whether this frolic was only intended for an affront to the court, or whether it had a deeper meaning, I must leave undetermined. The Duke, in his own nature, is not much turned to be popular; and in his flourishing times, when he came to *England* upon the close of a campaign, he rather affected to avoid any concourse of the mobile, if they had been disposed to attend him; therefore, so very different a proceeding at this juncture, made it suspected as if he had a design to have placed himself at their head. *France*, popery, the pretender, and no peace without *Spain*, were the words to be given about at this mock parade; and if what was confidently asserted be true, that a report was to have been spread, at the same time, of the Queen's death, no man can tell what might have been the event.

But this attempt, to whatever purposes intended, proving wholly abortive, by the vigilance of those in power, the Duke's arrival was without any

any noise or consequence; and, upon consulting with his friends, he soon fell in with their new scheme for preventing the peace. It was believed by many persons, that the ministers might, with little difficulty, have brought him over, if they had pleased to make a trial; for as he would probably have accepted any terms to continue in a station of such prodigious profit, so there was sufficient room to work upon his fears, of which he is seldom unprovided (I mean only in his political capacity), and his infirmity very much increased by his unmeasurable possessions, which have rendered him *ipsique onerique timentem*. But reason, as well as the event, proved this to be a mistake; for the ministers being determined to bring the war to as speedy an issue as the honour and safety of their country would permit, could not possibly recompense the Duke for the mighty incomes he held by the continuance of it. Then the other party had calculated their numbers; and, by the accession of the Earl of *Nottingham*, whose example they hoped would have many followers, and the successful solicitations of the Duke of *Somerset*, found they were sure of a majority in the house of lords; so that, in this view of circumstances, the Duke of *Marlborough* thought he acted with security, as well as advantage. He therefore boldly fell, with his whole weight, into the design of ruining the ministry, at the expence of his duty to his sovereign, and the welfare of his country, after the mighty obligations he had received from both. Whig

and Tory were now no longer the dispute, but the Queen or the Duke of *Marlborough*: He was at the head of all the cabals and consults with *Bothmar*, *Buys*, and the discontented lords: He forgot that government of his passion, for which his admirers used to celebrate him, and fell into all the impotencies of anger and violence upon every party debate; so that the Queen found herself under a necessity, either, on the one side, to sacrifice those friends who had ventured their lives in rescuing her out of the power of some, whose former treatment she had little reason to be fond of, to put an end to the progress she had made towards a peace, and dissolve her parliament; or, on the other side, by removing one person from so great a trust, to get clear of all her difficulties at once. Her Majesty, therefore, determined upon the latter, as the shorter and safer course; and, during the recess at *Christmas*, sent the Duke a letter, to tell him she had no farther occasion for his service.

There hath not, perhaps, in the present age, been a clearer instance to shew the instability of all greatness, which is not founded upon virtue; and it may be an instruction to princes, who are well in the hearts of their people, that the overgrown power of any particular person, although supported by exorbitant wealth, can, by a little resolution, be reduced in a moment, without any dangerous consequences. This lord, who was, beyond all comparison, the greatest subject in Christendom, found his power, credit, and influence, crumble

crumble away on a sudden ; and, except a few friends or followers by inclination, the rest dropped off in course. From directing, in some manner, the affairs of *Europe*, he descended to be a member of a faction, and with little distinction even there ; that virtue of subduing his resentments, for which he was so famed when he had little or no occasion to exert it, having now wholly forsaken him when he stood most in need of its assistance, and, upon trial, was found unable to bear a reverse of fortune, giving way to rage, impatience, envy, and discontent.

B O O K II.

THE House of Lords met upon the second day of *January*, according to their adjournment ; but before they could proceed to business, the twelve new created peers were, in the usual form, admitted to their seats in that assembly, who, by their number, turned the balance on the side of the court, and voted an adjournment to the same day with the commons. Upon the 14th of *January*, the two houses met ; but the Queen, who intended to be there in person, sent a message to inform them, “ That she was prevented by a sudden return of the gout, and to desire they would adjourn for three days longer, when her Majesty hoped she should be able to speak to them.” However, her indisposition still continuing, Mr. Secretary *St. John* brought another message to the house of commons

commons from the Queen, containing the substance of what she intended to have spoken. "That she could now tell them, her plenipotentiaries were arrived at *Utrecht*, and had begun, in pursuance of her instructions, to concert the most proper ways of procuring a just satisfaction to all powers in alliance with her, according to their several treaties, and particularly with relation to *Spain* and the *West-Indies*; that she promised to communicate to them the conditions of peace before the same should be concluded. That the world would now see how groundless these reports were, and without the least colour, that a separate peace had been treated; that her ministers were directed to propose, that a day might be fixed for the finishing, as was done for the commencement of this treaty; and that, in the mean time, all preparations were hastening for an early campaign," &c.

Her Majesty's endeavours towards this great work, having been in such a forwardness, at the time that her message was sent; I shall here, as in the most proper place, relate the several steps, by which the intercourse between the courts of *France* and *Britain* was begun and carried on.

The Marquis *De Torcy*, sent by the most Christian King to the *Hague*, had there, in the year 1709, made very advantageous offers to the allies, in his master's name, which our ministers, as well as those of the states, thought fit to refuse, and advanced other proposals in their stead; but of such

such a nature as no prince could digest, who did not lie at the immediate mercy of his enemies. It was demanded, among other things, that the *French* King should employ his own troops, in conjunction with those of the allies, to drive his grandson out of *Spain*. The proposers knew very well, that the enemy would never consent to this; and if it were possible they could at first have any hopes, Monsieur *De Torcy* assured them to the contrary, in a manner which might well be believed; for when the *British* and *Dutch* plenipotentiaries were drawing up their demands, they desired that minister to assist them in the style and expression, which he very readily did, and made use of the strongest words he could find to please them. He then insisted to know their last resolution, whether these were the lowest terms the allies could accept; and having received a determinate answer in the affirmative, he spoke to this effect:

“ That he thanked them heartily, for giving
 “ him the happiest day he had ever seen in his
 “ life. That, in perfect obedience to his master,
 “ he had made concessions, in his own opinion,
 “ highly derogatory to the King’s honour and in-
 “ terest. That he had not concealed the diffi-
 “ culties of his court, or the discontents of his
 “ country, by a long and unsuccessful war,
 “ which could only justify the large offers he had
 “ been empowered to make. That the conditions
 “ of peace now delivered into his hands, by the
 “ allies, would raise a new spirit in the nation,
 “ and

“and remove the greatest difficulty the court
“lay under, by putting it in his master’s power
“to convince all his subjects, how earnestly his
“Majesty desired to ease them from the burthen
“of the war; but that his enemies would not
“accept of any terms which could consist either
“with their safety or his honour.” Monsieur
De Torcy assured the pensioner, in the strongest
manner, and bid him count upon it, “That the
“King his master would never sign those articles.”

It soon appeared, that the Marquis *De Torcy*’s
predictions were true; for upon delivering to his
master the last resolutions of the allies, that
prince took care to publish them all over his
kingdom, as an appeal to his subjects against the
unreasonableness and unjustness of his enemies:
which proceeding effectually answered the ut-
most he intended by it. For the *French* nation,
extremely zealous for their monarch’s glory,
made universal offers of their lives and fortunes,
rather than submit to such ignominious terms;
and the clergy, in particular, promised to give the
King their consecrated plate towards continuing
the war. Thus that mighty kingdom, generally
thought to be exhausted wholly of its wealth,
yet when driven to a necessity by the imprudence
of the allies, or by the corruption of particular
men who influenced their counsels, recovered
strength enough to support itself for three follow-
ing campaigns; and in the last, by the fatal
blindness or obstinacy of the *Dutch* (venturing to
act without the assistance of *Britain*, which they
had

had shamefully abandoned) was an over-match for the whole confederate army. Those who, in order to defend the proceedings of the allies, have given an account of this negociation, do wholly omit the circumstance I have now related, and express the zeal of the *British* and *Dutch* ministers for a peace, by informing us how frequently they sent after Monsieur *De Torcy*, and Monsieur *Rouille*, for a farther conference. But in the mean time, Mr. *Horatio Walpole*, secretary to the Queen's plenipotentiaries, was dispatched over hither, to have these abortive articles signed, and ratified by her Majesty at a venture; which was accordingly done. A piece of management altogether absurd, and without example, contrived only to deceive our people into a belief that a peace was intended, and to shew what great things the ministry designed to do.

But this hope expiring, upon the news that *France* had refused to sign those articles, all was solved by recourse to the old topic of the *French* perfidiousness; we loaded them plentifully with ignominious appellations; they were a nation never to be trusted; the parliament chearfully continued their supplies, and the war went on.

The winter following began the second and last session of the preceding parliament, noted for the trial of Dr. *Sacheverel*, and the occasions thereby given to the people to discover and exert their dispositions, very opposite to the designs of those who were then in power. In the summer of 1710, ensued a gradual change of the ministry; and

and in the beginning of that winter the present parliament was called.

The King of *France*, whose real interests made him sincerely desirous of any tolerable peace, found it impossible to treat upon equal conditions with either of the two maritime powers engaged against him, because of the prevalency of factions in both, who acted in concert to their mutual private advantage, although directly against the general dispositions of the people, in either, as well as against their several maxims of government: but, upon the great turn of affairs and counsels here in *England*, the new parliament and ministers acting from other motives, and upon other principles, that prince hoped an opportunity might arise, of resuming his endeavours towards a peace.

There was at this time in *England*, a *French* ecclesiastic, called the Abbé Gualtier, who had resided several years in *London*, under the protection of some foreign ministers, in whose families he used, upon occasion, to exercise his function of a priest. After the battle of *Blenheim*, this gentleman went down to *Nottingham*, where several *French* prisoners of quality were kept, to whom he rendered those offices of civility suitable to persons in their condition, which, upon their return to *France*, they reported to his advantage. Among the rest, the Chevalier de Croissy told his brother, the Marquis de Torcy, that whenever the *French* court would have a mind to make overtures of peace with *England*, Monsieur Gualtier

tier might be very usefully employed in handing them to the ministers here. This was no farther thought on at present; in the meantime, the war went on, and the conferences at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg* miscarried, by the allies insisting upon such demands as they neither expected, nor, perhaps, desired should be granted. Some time in *July* 1710, Monsieur *Gualtier* received a letter from the Marquis *de Torcy*, signifying, that a report being spread, of her Majesty's intentions to change her ministry, to take Mr. *Harley* into her councils, and to dissolve her parliament; the Most Christian King thought it might be now a favourable conjuncture, to offer new proposals of a treaty: Monsieur *Gualtier* was therefore directed to apply himself in the Marquis's name, either to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Jersey*, or Mr. *Harley*, and inform the *French* court, how such a proposition would be relished. *Gualtier* chose to deliver his message to the second of those, who had been ambassador from the late king to *France*; but the Earl excused himself from entering into particulars with a stranger, and a private person, who had no authority for what he said, more than a letter from Monsieur *de Torcy*. *Gualtier* offered to procure another from that minister, to the Earl himself; and did so in a month after; but obtained no answer till *December* following, when the Queen had made all necessary changes, and summoned a free parliament to her wishes. About the beginning of *January*, the Abbé (after having procured

his dismissal from Count *Gallas*, the Emperor's envoy, at that time his protector) was sent to *Paris*, to inform Monsieur *de Torcy*, that her Majesty would be willing his master should resume the treaty with *Holland*, provided the demands of *England* might previously be granted. *Gualtier* came back, after a short stay, with a return to his message, "That the *Dutch* had used the "Most Christian King and his ministers, in such "a manner both at the *Hague* and *Gertruyden-* " *berg*, as made that prince resolve not to expose "himself any more to the like treatment; that "he therefore chose to address himself to *Eng-* " *land*, and was ready to make whatever offers "her Majesty could reasonably expect, for the "advantage of her own kingdoms, and the satisfac- "tion of her Allies."

After the message had been duly considered by the Queen and her ministers, Monsieur *Gualtier* was dispatched a second time to *France*, about the beginning of *March* 1710, with an answer to the following purpose: "That since *France* had "their particular reasons for not beginning again "to treat with *Holland*, *England* was willing to "remove that difficulty, and proposed it should "be done in this manner; that *France* should "send over hither the propositions for a treaty, "which should be transmitted by *England* to " *Holland*, to be jointly treated on that side of "the water. But it was to be understood, that "the same proposition formerly offered to *Hol-* " *land*, was to be made to *England*, or one not
" less

“ less advantageous to the Allies; for though
 “ *England* would enter most sincerely into such
 “ a treaty, and shew, in the course of it, the clear-
 “ ness of her intentions; yet they could not,
 “ with honour, entertain a less beneficial propo-
 “ sal than what was offered to the States.” That
 prince, as well as his minister, Monsieur *de Torcy*,
 either felt, or affected so much resentment of the
 usage the latter had met with at the *Hague* and
Gertruydenberg, that they appeared to be fully de-
 termined against making any application to the
 States, where the same persons continued still in
 power, of whose treatment they so heavily com-
 plained. They seemed altogether to distrust the
 inclination of that republic towards a peace; but,
 at the same time, shewed a mighty complaisance
 to the *English* nation, and a desire to have her
 Majesty at the head of a treaty. This appears
 by the first overtures in form, sent from that
 kingdom, and signed by Monsieur *de Torcy*, on
 the twenty-second of *April* 1711, new style, to
 the following effect:

“ That as it could not be doubted, but the
 “ king was in a condition of continuing the war
 “ with honour, so it could not be looked on as a
 “ mark of weakness in his Majesty, to break the
 “ silence he had kept since the conferences at
 “ *Gertruydenberg*; and that, before the opening of
 “ the campaign, he now gives farther proof of
 “ the desire he always had, to procure the repose
 “ of *Europe*. But after what he hath found, by
 “ experience, of the sentiments of those persons

“ who now governed the republic of *Holland*,
“ and of their industry in rendering all negocia-
“ tions without effect, his Majesty will, for the
“ public good, offer to the *English* nation those
“ propositions, which he thinks fit to make, for
“ terminating the war, and for settling the tran-
“ quillity of *Europe* upon a solid foundation. It
“ is with this view, that he offers to enter into a
“ treaty of peace, founded on the following con-
“ ditions :

“ *First*, The *English* nation shall have real secu-
“ rities for carrying on their trade in *Spain*, the
“ *Indies*, and ports of the *Mediterranean*.

“ *Secondly*, The king will consent to form a
“ sufficient barrier in the Low-countries, for the
“ security of the republic of *Holland*; and this
“ barrier shall be such as *England* shall agree up-
“ on, and approve; his Majesty promising, at the
“ same time, an entire liberty and security to the
“ trade of the *Dutch*.

“ *Thirdly*, All reasonable methods shall be
“ thought on, with sincerity and truth, for giv-
“ ing satisfaction to the Allies of *England* and
“ *Holland*.

“ *Fourthly*, Whereas the affairs of the king of
“ *Spain* are in so good condition, as to furnish
“ new expedients for putting an end to the dis-
“ putes about that monarchy, and for settling it
“ to the satisfaction of the several parties con-
“ cerned, all sincere endeavours shall be used,
“ for surmounting the difficulties arisen upon
“ this occasion; and the trade and interest of all
“ parties

" parties engaged in the present war, shall be
 " secured.

" *Fifthly*, The conferences, in order to treat
 " of a peace upon these conditions, shall imme-
 " diately be opened, and the plenipotentiaries
 " whom the king shall name to assist thereat, shall
 " treat with those of *England* and *Holland*, either
 " alone, or in conjunction with those of their
 " Allies, as *England* shall choose.

" *Sixthly*, His Majesty proposes the towns of
 " *Aix la Chapelle*, or *Liege*, for the place where
 " the plenipotentiaries shall assemble, leaving
 " the choice likewise to *England*, of either of
 " the said towns, wherein to treat of a general
 " peace."

Their overtures, although expressing much confidence in the ministry here, the great deference to the Queen, and displeasure against the *Dutch*, were immediately transmitted, by her Majesty's commands, to her ambassador in *Holland*, with orders, that they should be communicated to the pensionary. The Abbé *Gualtier* was desired to signify this proceeding to the Marquis *de Torcy*; and, at the same time, to let that minister understand, that some of the above articles ought to be explained. The Lord *Raby*, now Earl of *Stratford*, was directed to tell the pensionary, " That her Majesty being resolved, in making peace as
 " in making war, to act in perfect concert with
 " the States, would not lose a moment in trans-
 " mitting to him a paper of this importance.
 " That the Queen earnestly desired, the secret

“ might be kept among as few as possible; and
“ that she hoped the pensionary would advise,
“ upon this occasion, with no person whatsoever,
“ except such as by the constitution of that go-
“ vernment are unavoidably necessary; that the
“ terms of the several propositions were, indeed,
“ too general, but, however, they contained an
“ offer to treat; and that, although there appeared
“ an air of complaisance to *England*, through the
“ whole paper, and the contrary to *Holland*, yet
“ this could have no ill consequence, as long as
“ the Queen and the States took care to under-
“ stand each other, and to act with as little re-
“ serve as became two powers so nearly allied in
“ interest; which rule should, on the part of *Brit-
“ tain*, be inviolable.” It was likewise signified
to the pensionary, that the Duke of *Marlborough*
had no communication of this affair from *Eng-
land*, and that it was supposed he would have
none from the *Hague*. After these proposals had
been considered in *Holland*, the ambassador was
directed to send back the opinion of the *Dutch*
ministers upon them. The court here was, in-
deed, apprehensive, that the pensionary would be
alarmed at the whole frame of Monsieur *de Tor-
cy*’s paper, and particularly at those expressions,
that the *English* shall have real securities for their
trade, &c. and that the barrier for the States-
general, shall be such as *England* shall agree up-
on, and approve. It was natural to think, that
the fear which the *Dutch* would conceive, of our
obtaining advantageous terms for *Britain*, might
put

put them upon trying underhand for themselves, and endeavouring to over-reach us in the management of the peace, as they had hitherto done in that of the war: the ambassador was therefore cautioned to be very watchful, in discovering any workings which might tend that way.

When the Lord *Raby* was first sent to the *Hague*, the Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord *Townsend* had, for very obvious reasons, used their utmost endeavours to involve him in as many difficulties as they could. Upon which, and other accounts, needless to mention, it was thought proper, that his Grace, then in *Flanders*, should not be let into the secret of this affair.

The *French* proposal of *Aix* or *Liege*, for a place of treaty, was only a farther mark of their old discontent against *Holland*, to shew they would not name any town which belonged to the States.

The pensionary having consulted those who had been formerly employed in the negociations of peace, and enjoined them the utmost secrecy, to avoid the jealousy of the foreign ministers there, desired the ambassador to return her Majesty thanks, for the obliging manner of communicating the *French* overtures, for the confidence she placed in the States, and for her promise of making no step towards a peace, but in concert with them; assuring her of the like on their part: that although the States endeavoured to hide it from the enemy, they were as weary of the war as we, and very heartily desirous of a good and
lasting

lasting peace, as well as ready to join in any method, by which her Majesty should think proper to obtain it: that the States looked upon these propositions as very dark and general; and they observed how the enemy would create jealousies between the Queen, their republic, and the other Allies; but they were satisfied, it would have no effect, and relied entirely on the justice and prudence of her Majesty, who, they doubted not, would make the *French* explain themselves, particularly in the several points of their proposals, and send a plan of the particular conditions whereupon they would make a peace; after which the States would be ready, either to join with her Majesty, or to make their objections, and were prepared to bring with them all the facility imaginable, towards promoting so good a work.

This is the sum of the verbal answer made by the pensionary, upon communicating to him the *French* proposals; and I have chosen to set it down, rather than transcribe the other given to the ambassador some days after, which was more in form, and to the same purpose, but shorter, and in my opinion, not so well discovering the true disposition of the *Dutch* ministers.

For, after the Queen had transmitted the *French* overtures to *Holland*, and the States found her Majesty was bent, in earnest, upon the thoughts of a peace, they began to cast about how to get the negociation into their own hands. They knew that whatever power received the first proposals, would be wise enough to stipulate something for themselves,

themselves, as they had done in their own case, both at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*, where they carved as they pleased, without any regard to the interest of their nearer allies. For this reason, while they endeavoured to amuse the *British* court, with expostulations upon the several preliminaries sent from *France*, Monsieur *Petecum*, a forward meddling agent of *Holstein*, who had resided some years in *Holland*, negotiated with *Hienfius*, the grand pensionary, as well as with *Vanderdussen* and *Buys*, about restoring the conferences between *France* and that republic, broke off in *Gertruydenberg*; pursuant to which, about the end of *May*, N. S. 1711, *Petecum* wrote to the Marquis de *Torcy*, with the privity of the pensionary, and probably of the other two. The substance of his letter, was to inform the Marquis, “ That things might easily be disposed, so
 “ as to settle a correspondence between that
 “ crown and the republic, in order to renew the
 “ treaty of peace; that this could be done with
 “ the greater secrecy, because Monsieur *Hienfius*,
 “ by virtue of his oath as pensionary, might keep
 “ any affair private, as long as he thought necessary, and was not obliged to communicate it,
 “ until he believed things were ripe; and as long
 “ as he concealed it from his masters, he was not
 “ bound to discover it, either to the ministers of
 “ the Emperor, or those of her *British* Majesty;
 “ that since *England* thought it proper for king
 “ *Charles* to continue the whole campaign in *Catalonia* (though he should be chosen Emperor)
 “ in

“ in order to support the war in *Spain*, it was
 “ necessary for *France* to treat in the most secret
 “ manner with the States, who were not now so
 “ violent, as formerly, against having *Philip* on
 “ the *Spanish* throne, upon certain conditions for
 “ securing their trade, but were jealous of *Eng-*
 “ *land*’s design to fortify some trading towns in
 “ *Spain* for themselves; that *Hienfus* extremely
 “ desired to get out of the war, for some reasons,
 “ which he (*Petecum*) was not permitted to tell;
 “ and that *Vanderdussen* and *Buys* were impatient
 “ to have the negotiations with *France* once
 “ more set on foot; which, if *M. de Torcy* thought
 “ fit to consent to, *Petecum* engaged, that the
 “ States would determine to settle the prelimi-
 “ naries in the mid-way between *Paris* and the
 “ *Hague*, with whatever ministers the most Chri-
 “ stian king should please to employ.” But *Mon-*
sieur Torcy refused this overture; and, in his an-
 swer to *Monseur Petecum*, assigned for the reason,
 the treatment his master’s former proposals had met
 with at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*, from the
 ministers of *Holland*.

Britain and *Holland* seemed pretty well agreed,
 that those proposals were too loose and imperfect,
 to be a foundation for entering upon a general
 treaty, and *Monseur Gualtier* was desired to sig-
 nify to the *French* court, that it was expected
 they should explain themselves more particularly
 on the several articles.

But, in the mean time, the *Queen* was firmly
 resolved, that the interests of her own kingdom
 should

should not be neglected at this juncture, as they had formerly twice been, while the *Dutch* were principal managers of a negotiation with *France*. Her Majesty had given early and frequent notice to the States, of the general disposition of her people towards a peace, of her own inability to continue the war upon the old foot, under the disadvantage of unequal quotas, and the universal backwardness of her Allies. She had likewise informed them of several advances made to her on the side of *France*, which she had refused to hearken to, till she had consulted with those her good friends and confederates, and heard their opinion on that subject. But the *Dutch*, who apprehended nothing more than to see *Britain* at the head of a treaty, were backward and fullen, disliked all proposals by the Queen's intervention, and said, it was a piece of artifice of *France*, to divide the Allies. Besides, they knew the ministry was young; and the opposite faction had given them assurances, that the people of *England* would never endure a peace without *Spain*, nor the men in power dare to attempt it, after the resolutions of one house of parliament to the contrary. But, in the midst of this unwillingness to receive any overtures from *France* by the Queen's hands, the *Dutch* ministers were actually engaged in a correspondence with that court, where they urged our inability to begin a treaty, by reason of those factions, which themselves had inflamed; and were ready to commence a negotiation upon much easier terms than what they supposed we demanded:

demand: For, not to mention the Duke of *Lorrain's* interposition in behalf of *Holland*, which *France* absolutely refused to accept, the letters sent from the *Dutch* to that court, were shewn some months after to a *British* minister there; which gave much weight to *Monf. Torcy's* insinuations, that he knew where to meet with more compliance, if the necessity of affairs should force him to it, by our refusal; and the violence of the States against our entertaining of that correspondence, was only because they knew theirs would never be accepted, at least till ours were thrown off.

The Queen, sensible of all this, resolved to provide for her own kingdoms: and having, therefore, prepared such demands for her principal Allies, as might be a ground for proceeding to a general treaty, without pretending to adjust their several interests, she resolved to stipulate, in a particular manner, the advantage of *Britain*. The following preliminary demands were accordingly drawn up, in order to be transmitted to *France*.

“ *Great-Britain* will not enter into any negotiation of peace, otherways than upon these conditions obtained before-hand.

“ That the union of the crowns of *France* and *Spain* shall be prevented; that satisfaction shall be given to all the Allies, and trade settled and maintained.

“ If *France* be disposed to treat upon this view, it is not to be doubted, that the following propositions will be found reasonable.

“ A Bar-

FOUR LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 61

“ A Barrier shall be formed in the *Low-Coun-*
“ *tries*, for the States-General; and their trade
“ shall be secured.

“ A Barrier likewise shall be formed for the
“ Empire.

“ The pretensions of all the Allies, founded
“ upon former treaties, shall be regulated and de-
“ termined to their general satisfaction.

“ In order to make a more equal balance of
“ power in *Italy*, the domains and territories,
“ which, in the beginning of the present war, be-
“ longed to the Duke of *Savoy*, and are now in
“ the possession of *France*, shall be restored to
“ his Royal Highness; and such other places in
“ *Italy* shall be yielded to him, as will be found
“ necessary, and agreeable to the sense of former
“ treaties made with that Prince.

“ As to *Great-Britain* in particular, the succes-
“ sion to the crown of the kingdoms, according
“ to the present establishment, shall be acknow-
“ ledged.

“ A new treaty of commerce between *Great-*
“ *Britain* and *France* shall be made, after the
“ most just and reasonable manner. *Dunkirk*
“ shall be demolished; *Gibraltar* and *Portmahon*
“ shall remain in the hands of the present posses-
“ sors.

“ The *English* shall have the *Assiento* in the
“ same manner the *French* now enjoy it; and
“ such places in the *Spanish West-Indies* shall be
“ assigned to those concerned in this traffic, for

“ the refreshment and sale of their Negroes, as
“ shall be found necessary and convenient.

“ All advantages, rights and privileges, already
“ granted, or which may hereafter be granted by
“ *Spain* to the subjects of *France*, or to any other
“ nation whatsoever, shall be equally granted to
“ the subjects of *Great-Britain*.

“ And, for better securing the *British* trade in
“ the *Spanish West-Indies*, certain places, to be
“ named in the treaty of peace, shall be put into
“ the possession of the *English*.

“ *Newfoundland*, with the bay and streights of
“ *Hudson*, shall be entirely restored to the *Eng-
“ lish*; and *Great-Britain* and *France* shall se-
“ verally keep and possess all those countries and
“ territories in *North America*, which each of the
“ said nations shall be in possession of at the time
“ when the ratification of this treaty shall be pub-
“ lished in those parts of the world.

“ These demands, and all other proceedings
“ between *Great-Britain* and *France*, shall be
“ kept inviolably secret, until they are published
“ by the mutual consent of both parties.”

This last article was not only intended for a-
voiding, if possible, the jealousy of the *Dutch*, but
to prevent the clamour of the abettors here at
home, who, under the pretended fear of our do-
ing injustice to the States, by acting without the
privity of that republic, in order to make a sepa-
rate peace, would be ready to drive on the worst
designs against the Queen and ministry, in order
to recover the power they had lost.

In

In *June 1711*, Mr. *Prior*, a person of great distinction, not only on account of his wit, but for his abilities in the management of affairs, and who had been formerly employed at the *French* court, was dispatched thither by her Majesty with the foregoing demands. This gentleman was received at *Versailles* with great civility. The King declared, that no proceeding, in order to a general treaty, would be so agreeable to him, as by the intervention of *England*; and that his Majesty, being desirous to contribute with all his power towards the repose of *Europe*, did answer to the demands which had been made, “ That he would
 “ consent freely and sincerely to all just and rea-
 “ sonable methods for hindering the crowns of
 “ *France* and *Spain* from ever being united under
 “ the same Prince; his Majesty being persuaded,
 “ that such an excess of power would be as con-
 “ trary to the general good and repose of *Europe*,
 “ as it was opposite to the will of the late Catho-
 “ lic King *Charles* the Second. He said, his in-
 “ tention was, that all parties in the present war
 “ should find their reasonable satisfaction in the
 “ intended treaty of peace; and that trade should
 “ be settled and maintained for the future, to the
 “ advantage of those nations which formerly pos-
 “ sessed it.

“ That, as the King will exactly observe the
 “ conditions of peace, whenever it shall be con-
 “ cluded, and as the object he proposeth to him-
 “ self, is, to secure the frontiers of his own king-
 “ dom, without giving any sort of disturbance to

“ his neighbours, he promiseth to agree, that, by
“ the future treaty of peace, the *Dutch* shall be
“ put into possession of all fortified places, as shall
“ be specified in the said treaty, to serve for a
“ barrier to that republic against all attempts on
“ the side of *France*: He engages likewise to
“ give all necessary securities for removing the
“ jealousies raised among the *German* princes, of
“ his Majesty’s designs.

“ That when the conferences, in order to a
“ general treaty, shall be formed, all the preten-
“ sions of the several princes and States, engaged
“ in the present war, shall be fairly and amicably
“ discussed; nor shall any thing be omitted,
“ which may regulate and determine them, to
“ the satisfaction of all parties.”

“ That, pursuant to the demands made by
“ *England*, his Majesty promises to restore to the
“ Duke of *Savoy* those demesnes and territories
“ which belonged to that Prince at the begin-
“ ning of this war, and which his Majesty is now
“ in possession of. And the King consents fur-
“ ther, that such other places in *Italy* shall be
“ yielded to the Duke of *Savoy* as shall be found
“ necessary, according to the sense of those trea-
“ ties made between the said Duke and his Allies.

“ That the King’s sentiments of the present go-
“ vernment of *Great-Britain*, the open declara-
“ tion he made in *Holland*, of his resolution to
“ treat of peace by applications to the *English*,
“ the assurances he had given of engaging the
“ King of *Spain* to leave *Gibraltar* in our hands,
“ (all

“ (all which are convincing proofs of his perfect
 “ esteem for a nation still in war with him) leave
 “ no room to doubt of his Majesty’s inclination
 “ to give *England* all securities and advantages
 “ for their trade, which they can reasonably de-
 “ mand. But, as his Majesty cannot persuade
 “ himself, that a government so clear-sighted as
 “ ours, will insist upon conditions, which must
 “ absolutely destroy the trade of *France* and *Spain*,
 “ as well as that of all other nations of *Europe*,
 “ he thinks the demands made by *Great-Britain*
 “ may require a more particular discussion.

“ That, upon this foundation, the King
 “ thought the best way of advancing and per-
 “ fecting a negotiation, the beginning of which
 “ he had seen with so much satisfaction, would
 “ be, to send into *England* a person instructed in
 “ his intention, and authorized by him to agree
 “ upon securities for settling the trade of the
 “ subjects of *England*, and those particular ad-
 “ vantages to be stipulated in their favour, with-
 “ out destroying the trade of the *French* and *Span-*
 “ *iards*, or of other nations in Christendom.

“ That therefore, his Majesty had charged the
 “ person chosen for this commission, to answer
 “ the other articles of the memorial given him
 “ by Mr. *Prior*; the secret of which, should be
 “ exactly observed.”

Monsieur *de Torcy* had, for some years past,
 used all his endeavours to incline his master to-
 wards a peace, pursuant to the maxim of his
 uncle *Colbert*, That a long war was not for the in-

terest of *France*. It was for this reason, the King made choice of him in the conferences at the *Hague*; the bad success whereof, although it filled him with resentments against the *Dutch*, did not alter his opinion. But he was violently opposed by a party, both in the court and kingdom, who pretended to fear he would sacrifice the glory of the Prince and country, by too large concessions; or, perhaps, would rather wish, that the first offers should have been still made to the *Dutch*, as a people more likely to be less solicitous about the interest of *Britain*, than her Majesty would certainly be for theirs: and the particular design of Mr. *Prior's* journey was, to find out, whether that minister had credit enough with his Prince, and a support from others in power, sufficient to over-rule the faction against peace.

Mr. *Prior's* journey could not be kept a secret, as the court here at first seemed to intend it. He was discovered at his return, by an officer of the port at *Dover*, where he landed, after six weeks absence; upon which the *Dutch Gazettes* and *English* news-papers were full of speculations.

At the same time with Mr. *Prior*, there arrived from *France* Monsieur *Mesnager*, knight of the order of *St. Michael*, and one of the council of trade to the Most Christian King. His commission was, in general, empowering him to treat with the minister of any prince engaged in the war against his master. In his first conferences with the Queen's ministers, he pretended orders

to insist, that her Majesty should enter into particular engagements in several articles, which did not depend upon her, but concerned only the interest of the Allies, reciprocally with those of the Most Christian King: whereas, the negotiation had begun upon this principle, that *France* should consent to adjust the interests of *Great-Britain* in the first place; whereby her Majesty would be afterwards enabled, by her good offices on all sides, to facilitate the general peace. The Queen resolved never to depart from this principle; but was absolutely determined to remit the particular interests of the Allies to general conferences, where she would do the utmost in her power to procure the repose of *Europe*, and the satisfaction of all parties. It was plain, *France* could run no hazard by this proceeding, because the preliminary articles would have no force before a general peace was signed. Therefore, it was not doubted, but Monsieur *Ménager* would have orders to wave this new pretension, and go on in treating upon that foot which was at first proposed. In short, the ministers required a positive and speedy answer to the articles in question, since they contained only such advantages and securities as her Majesty thought she had a right to require from any Prince whatsoever, to whom the dominions of *Spain* should happen to fall.

The particular demands of *Britain* were formed into eight articles; which Monsieur *Ménager*, having transmitted to his court, and received new powers from thence, had orders to

to give his master's consent, by way of answers to the several points, to be obligatory only after a general peace. These demands, together with the answers of the *French* King, were drawn up and signed by Monsieur *Mefnager* and her Majesty's two principal secretaries of state; whereof I shall here present an extract to the reader.

In the preamble, the Most Christian King sets forth, "That being particularly informed, by
"the last memorial which the *British* ministers
"delivered to Monsieur *Mefnager*, of the dispositions of this crown to facilitate a general peace,
"to the satisfaction of the several parties concerned; and his Majesty finding, in effect, as
"the said memorial declares, that he runs no
"hazard by engaging himself in the manner
"there expressed, since the preliminary articles
"will be of no force, until the signing of the general peace; and being sincerely desirous to
"advance, to the utmost of his power, the repose of *Europe*, especially by a way so agreeable
"as the interposition of a Princess, whom so many ties of blood ought to unite to him, and
"whose sentiments for the public tranquillity
"cannot be doubted; his Majesty, moved by
"these considerations, hath ordered Monsieur
"*Mefnager*, Knight, &c. to give the following
"answers, in writing, to the articles contained in
"the memorial transmitted to him, entitled, *Preliminary demands for Great-Britain in particular*."

The articles were these that follow.

"*First*, The succession to the crown to be acknowledged,

“ knowledged, according to the present establish-
 “ ment.

“ *Secondly*, A new treaty of commerce be-
 “ tween *Great-Britain* and *France*, to be made
 “ after the most just and reasonable manner.

“ *Thirdly*, *Dunkirk* to be demolished.

“ *Fourthly*, *Gibraltar* and *Portmahon* to con-
 “ tinue in the hands of those who now possess
 “ them.

“ *Fifthly*, The *Assiento* (or liberty of selling
 “ Negroes to the *Spanish West-Indies*) to be grant-
 “ ed to the *English*, in as full a manner as the
 “ *French* possess it at present; and such places in
 “ the said *West-Indies* to be assigned to the per-
 “ sons concerned in this trade, for the refresh-
 “ ment and sale of their Negroes, as shall be
 “ found necessary and convenient.

“ *Sixthly*, Whatever advantages, privileges,
 “ and rights, are already, or may hereafter be
 “ granted, by *Spain* to the subjects of *France*, or
 “ any other nation, shall be equally granted to
 “ the subjects of *Great-Britain*.

“ *Seventhly*, For better protecting their trade
 “ in the *Spanish West-Indies*, the *English* shall be
 “ put into possession of such places as shall be
 “ named in the treaty of peace.

“ Or, as an equivalent for this article, that
 “ the *Assiento* be granted to *Britain*, for the term
 “ of thirty years. That the isle of *St. Christopher's*
 “ be likewise secured to the *English*.

“ That the advantages and exemption from
 “ duties, promised by Monsieur *Mesnager*, which,
 “ he

“ he affirms, will amount to fifteen *per cent.* upon all goods of the growth and manufacture of *Great-Britain*, be effectually allowed.

“ That whereas on the side of the river of *Plate*, the *English* are not in possession of any colony, a certain extent of territory be allowed them on the said river, for refreshing and keeping their Negroes, till they are sold to the *Spaniards*; subject, nevertheless, to the inspection of an officer appointed by *Spain*.

“ *Eighthly*, *Newfoundland*, and the bay and freights of *Hudson*, shall be entirely restored to the *English*; and *Great-Britain* and *France* shall respectively keep whatever dominions in *North America* each of them shall be in possession of, when the ratification of this treaty shall be published in those parts of the world.”

The six first articles were allowed without any difficulty, except that about *Dunkirk*, where *France* was to have an equivalent, to be settled in a general treaty: a difficulty arising upon the seventh article, the proposed equivalent was allowed instead thereof.

The last article was referred to the general treaty of peace; only the *French* were to have the power of fishing for cod, and drying them on the island of *Newfoundland*.

These articles were to be looked upon as conditions which the Most Christian King consented to allow; and, whenever a general peace should be signed, they were to be digested into the usual form.

form of a treaty, to the satisfaction of both crowns.

The Queen having thus provided for the security and advantage of her kingdoms, whenever a peace should be made, and upon terms no way interfering with the interest of her allies, the next thing in order was, to procure from *France* such preliminary articles, as might be a ground upon which to commence a general treaty. These were adjusted, and signed the same day with the former; and, having been delivered to the several ministers residing here from the powers in alliance with *England*, were quickly made public; but the various constructions and censures which passed upon them, have made it necessary to give the reader the following transcript:

“The King being willing to contribute all that is in his power to the re-establishing of the general peace, his Majesty declares,

“I. That he will acknowledge the Queen of *Great Britain*, in that quality; as also the succession of that crown, according to the present settlement.

“II. That he will freely, and *bona fide*, consent to the taking all just and reasonable measures for hindering that the crowns of *France* and *Spain* may ever be united on the head of the same Prince; his Majesty being persuaded that this excess of power would be contrary to the good and quiet of *Europe*.

“III. The King's intention is, that all the parties

“ties engaged in the present war, without except-
“ing any of them, may find their reasonable sa-
“tisfaction in the treaty of peace which shall be
“made : That commerce may be re-established
“and maintained for the future, to the advantage
“of *Great-Britain*, of *Holland*, and of the other
“nations who have been accustomed to exercise
“commerce.

“IV. As the King will likewise maintain ex-
“actly the observation of the peace, when it shall
“be concluded ; and the object the King pro-
“poses to himself being to secure the frontiers of
“his kingdom, without disturbing in any manner
“whatever the neighbouring states, he promises
“to agree, by the treaty which shall be made,
“that the *Dutch* shall be put in possession of
“the fortified places which shall be mentioned in
“the *Netherlands*, to serve hereafter for a barrier ;
“which may secure the quiet of the republic of
“*Holland* against any enterprize from the part
“of *France*.

“V. The King consents likewise, that a secure
“and convenient barrier should be formed for the
“Empire, and for the house of *Austria*.

“VI. Notwithstanding *Dunkirk* cost the King
“very great sums, as well to purchase it, as to fortify
“it ; and that it is farther necessary to be at very
“considerable expence for razing the works ; his
“Majesty is willing however to engage to cause
“them to be demolished, immediately after the
“conclusion of the peace ; on condition, that,
“for the fortifications of that place, a proper e-
“quivalent,

“ equivalent, that may content him, be given him :
 “ And, as *England* cannot furnish that equivalent,
 “ the discussion of it shall be referred to the confe-
 “ rences to be held for the negociation of the peace.

“ VII. When the conferences for the negocia-
 “ tion of the peace shall be formed, all the pre-
 “ tensions of the princes and states, engaged in
 “ the present war, shall be therein discussed *bona*
 “ *fide*, and amicably ; and nothing shall be omit-
 “ ted, to regulate and terminate them, to the sa-
 “ tisfaction of all the parties.

MESNAGER.”

These overtures are founded upon the eighth article of the grand alliance, made in 1701, where-
 in are contained the conditions, without which a
 peace is not to be made ; and whoever compares
 both, will find the preliminaries to reach every
 point proposed in that article, which those who
 censured them at home, if they spoke their
 thoughts, did not understand : for nothing can be
 plainer than what the public hath often been told,
 that the recovery of *Spain* from the house of *Bour-*
bon, was a thing never imagined when the war
 began, but a just and reasonable satisfaction
 to the Emperor ; much less ought such a condition
 to be held necessary at present ; not only because
 it is allowed on all hands to be impracticable,
 but likewise because, by the changes in the *Au-*
strian and *Bourbon* families, it would not be safe ;
 neither did those, who were loudest in blaming
 the *French* preliminaries, know any thing of the

advantages privately stipulated for *Britain*, whose interests, they assured us, were all made a sacrifice to the corruption or folly of the managers: and and therefore, because the opposers of peace have been better informed by what they have since heard and seen, they have changed their battery, and accused the ministers for betraying the *Dutch*.

The Lord *Raby*, her Majesty's ambassador at the *Hague*, having made a short journey to *England*, where he was created Earl of *Strafford*, went back to *Holland*, about the beginning of *October* 1711, with the above preliminaries, in order to communicate them to the pensionary and other ministers of the States. The Earl was instructed to let them know, "That the Queen had, according
"to their desire, returned an answer to the first
"propositions signed by Monsieur *Torcy*, signifying, that the *French* offers were thought, both
"by her Majesty and the States, neither so particular nor so full as they ought to be, and insisting to have a distinct project formed of such a
"peace, as the most Christian King would be willing to conclude: that this affair having been for
"some time transacted by papers, and thereby subject to delays, Monsieur *Mefnager* was at length
"sent over by *France*, and had signed those preliminaries now communicated to them: that the
"several articles did not indeed contain such
"particular concessions as *France* must and will
"make in the course of a treaty; but that, however, her Majesty thought them a sufficient
"foundation

“ foundation whereon to open the general conferences.

“ That her Majesty was unwilling to be charged with determining the several interests of her Allies, and therefore contented herself with such general offers as might include all the particular demands proper to be made during the treaty, where the confederates must resolve to adhere firmly together, in order to obtain from the enemy the utmost that could be hoped for in the present circumstances of affairs; which rule, her Majesty assured the States, she would on her part firmly observe.”

If the ministers of *Holland* should express any uneasiness, that her Majesty may have settled the interests of her own kingdoms in a future peace, by any private agreement, the ambassador was ordered to say, “ That the Queen had hitherto refused to have the treaty carried on in her own kingdom, and would continue to do so, unless they (the *Dutch*) constrained her to take another measure: that, by these means, the States, and the rest of the Allies, would have the opportunity of treating and adjusting their different pretensions, which her Majesty would promote, with all the zeal she had shewn for the common good, and the particular advantage of that republic (as they must do her the justice to confess) in the whole course of her reign: that the Queen had made no stipulation for herself, which might clash with the interests of *Holland*; and that the articles to be inserted in a future

“ treaty, for the benefit of *Britain*, were for the
“ most part such as contained advantages, which
“ must either be continued to the enemy, or be
“ obtained by her Majesty; but however, that no
“ concession should tempt her to hearken to a
“ peace, unless her good friends and allies the
“ States General, had all reasonable satisfaction
“ as to their trade and barrier, as well as in all
“ other respects.”

After these assurances given in the Queen’s name, the Earl was to insinuate, “ That her Majesty should have just reason to be offended, and
“ to think the proceeding between her and the
“ States very unequal, if they should pretend to
“ have any further uneasiness upon this head;
“ that being determined to accept no advantages
“ to herself, repugnant to their interests, nor any
“ peace without their reasonable satisfaction, the
“ figure she had made during the whole course of
“ the war, and the part she had acted superior to
“ any of the Allies, who were more concerned in
“ danger and interest, might justly entitle her to
“ settle the concerns of *Great-Britain* before she
“ would consent to a general negociation.”

If the States should object the engagements the Queen was under, by treaties, of making no peace but in concert with them, or the particular obligations of the barrier treaty; the ambassador was to answer, “ That as to the former, her Majesty had not in any sort acted contrary thereto; that she was so far from making a peace
“ without their consent, as to declare her firm re-
“ solution.

“ solution not to make it without their satisfac-
 “ tion ; and that what had passed between *France*
 “ and her, amounted to no more than an intro-
 “ duction to a general treaty. As to the latter,
 “ the Earl had orders to represent very earnestly,
 “ how much it was even for the interest of *Hol-*
 “ *land* itself, rather to compound the advantage
 “ of the barrier treaty, than to insist upon the
 “ whole, which the house of *Austria*, and several
 “ other Allies would never consent to ; that no-
 “ thing could be more odious to the people of
 “ *England* than many parts of this treaty, which
 “ would have raised universal indignation, if the
 “ utmost care had not been taken to quiet the minds
 “ of those who were acquainted with the terms of
 “ that guaranty, and to conceal them from those
 “ who were not ; that it was absolutely necessary
 “ to maintain a good harmony between both na-
 “ tions, without which it would be impossible at
 “ any time to form a strength for reducing an ex-
 “ orbitant power, or preserving the balance of
 “ *Europe* ; from whence it followed, that it could
 “ not be the true interest of either country, to
 “ insist upon any conditions which might give
 “ just apprehension to the other.

“ That *France* had proposed *Utrecht*, *Nime-*
 “ *guen*, *Aix* or *Liege*, wherein to hold the general
 “ treaty ; and her Majesty was ready to send her
 “ plenipotentiaries to which ever of those towns
 “ the States should approve.”

If the Imperial Ministers, or those of the other
 Allies, should object against the preliminaries as :

no sufficient ground for opening the conferences, and insist that *France* should consent to such articles as were signed on the part of the Allies in the year 1709; the Earl of *Strafford* was in answer directed to insinuate, "That the *French* might probably have been brought to explain themselves more particularly, had they not perceived the uneasiness, impatience, and jealousy among the Allies, during our transactions with that court." However he should declare to them, in the Queen's name, "That if they were determined to accept of peace upon no terms inferior to what were formerly demanded, her Majesty was ready to concur with them, but would no longer bear those disproportions of expence yearly increased upon her, nor the deficiency of the confederates in every part of the war: that it was therefore incumbent upon them to furnish, for the future, such quotas of ships and forces as they were now wanting in, and to increase their expence, while her Majesty reduced hers to a reasonable and just proportion."

That if the ministers of *Vienna* and *Holland* should urge their inability upon this head, the Queen insisted, "They ought to comply with her, in war or in peace; her Majesty desiring nothing, as to the first, but what they ought to perform, and what is absolutely necessary; and as to the latter, that she had done, and would continue to do the utmost in her power towards obtaining such a peace, as might be to the satisfaction of all her allies."

Some

Some days after the Earl of *Strafford's* departure to *Holland*, Monsieur *Buys*, pensionary of *Amsterdam*, arrived here from thence with instructions from his masters to treat upon the subject of the *French* preliminaries, and the methods for carrying on the war. In his first conference with a committee of council, he objected against all the articles as too general and uncertain, and against some of them as prejudicial. He said, "The *French* promising that trade should be re-established and maintained for the future, was meant in order to deprive the *Dutch* of their tariff of 1664; for the plenipotentiaries of that crown would certainly expound the word *retablir*, to signify no more than restoring the trade of the States to the condition it was in immediately before the commencement of the present war." He said, "That, in the article of *Dunkirk*, the destruction of the harbour was not mentioned, and that the fortifications were only to be razed upon condition of an equivalent, which might occasion a difference between her Majesty and the States, since *Holland* would think it hard to have a town less in their barrier for the demolition of *Dunkirk*, and *England* would complain to have this thorn continue in their side, for the sake of giving one town more to the *Dutch*."

Lastly, he objected, "That where the *French* promised effectual methods should be taken to prevent the union of *France* and *Spain* under the same king, they offered nothing at all for the cession

sion of *Spain*, which was the most important point of the war.

“For these reasons, Monsieur *Buys* hoped her Majesty would alter her measures, and demand specific articles, upon which the Allies might debate whether they would consent to a negociation or no.”

The Queen, who looked upon all these difficulties raised about the method of treating, as endeavours to wrest the negociation out of her hands, commanded the lords of the committee to let Monsieur *Buys* know, “That the experience
“she formerly had of proceeding by particular
“preliminaries towards a general treaty, gave her
“no encouragement to repeat the same method
“any more: That such a preliminary treaty must
“be negotiated either by some particular allies,
“or by all. The first, her Majesty could never
“suffer, since she would neither take upon her to
“settle the interests of others, nor submit that o-
“thers should settle those of her own kingdoms.
“As to the second, it was liable to Monsieur
“*Buys*’s objection, because the ministers of *France*
“would have as fair an opportunity of sowing di-
“vision among the Allies, when they were all as-
“sembled upon a preliminary treaty, as when the
“conferences were open for a negociation of
“peace: That this method could therefore have
“no other effect than to delay the treaty, with-
“out any advantage: That her Majesty was
“heartily disposed, both then and during the ne-
“gociation, to insist on every thing necessary for
“securing;

“securing the barrier and commerce of the
 “States, and therefore hoped the conferences
 “might be opened, without farther difficulties.

“That her Majesty did not only consent, but
 “desire to have a plan settled for carrying on the
 “war, as soon as the negociation of peace should
 “begin, but expected to have the burthen more
 “equally laid, and more agreeable to treaties,
 “and would join with the States in pressing the
 “Allies to perform their parts, as she had endea-
 “voured to animate them by her example.”

Monfieur *Buys* seemed to know little of his master's mind, and pretended he had no power to conclude upon any thing. Her Majesty's minister proposed to him an alliance between the two nations, to subsist after a peace. To this he hearkened very readily, and offered to take the matter *ad referendum*, having authority to do no more. His intention was, that he might appear to negotiate, in order to gain time to pick out, if possible, the whole secret of the transactions between *Britain* and *France*; to disclose nothing himself, nor bind his masters to any conditions; to seek delays till the parliament met, and then observe what turn it took, and what would be the issue of those frequent cabals between himself and some other foreign ministers, in conjunction with the chief leaders of the discontented faction.

The *Dutch* hoped, that the clamours, raised against the proceedings of the Queen's ministers towards a peace, would make the parliament dis-
 approve

approve what had been done, whereby the States would be at the head of the negociation, which the Queen did not think fit to have any more in their hands, where it had miscarried twice already, although Prince *Eugene* himself owned, "That *France* was then disposed to conclude a peace upon such conditions, as it was not worth the life of a grenadier to refuse them." As to insisting upon specific preliminaries, her Majesty thought her own method much better, for each Ally, in the course of the negociation, to advance and manage his own pretensions, wherein she would support and assist them, rather than for two ministers of one Ally to treat solely with the enemy, and report what they pleased to the rest, as was practised by the *Dutch* at *Gertruydenberg*.

One part of Monsieur *Buys*'s instructions was to desire the Queen not to be so far amused by a treaty of peace, as to neglect her preparation for war against the next campaign. Her Majesty, who was firmly resolved against submitting any longer to that unequal burthen of expence she had hitherto lain under, commanded Mr. Secretary *St. John* to debate the matter with that minister, who said he had no power to treat, only insisted that his masters had fully done their part, and that nothing but exhortations could be used to prevail on the other Allies to act with greater vigour.

On the other side, the Queen refused to concert any plan for the prosecution of the war, till the States would join with her in agreeing to o-
pen

pen the conferences of peace; which therefore, by Monsr. *Buy's* application to them, was accordingly done, by a resolution taken in *Holland* upon the twenty-first of *November* 1711, N. S.

About this time the Count *de Gallas* was forbid the court, by order from the Queen, who sent him word, that she looked upon him no longer as a public minister.

This gentleman thought fit to act a very dishonourable part here in *England*, altogether inconsistent with the character he bore of envoy from the late and present Emperors; two princes under the strictest ties of gratitude to the Queen, especially the latter, who had then the title of King of *Spain*. Count *Gallas*, about the end of *August* 1711, with the utmost privacy, dispatched an *Italian*, one of his clerks, to *Frankfort*, where the Earl of *Peterborough* was then expected. This man was instructed to pass for a *Spaniard*, and insinuate himself into the Earl's service; which he accordingly did, and gave constant information to the last Emperor's secretary at *Frankfort*, of all he could gather up in his lordship's family, as well as copies of several letters he had transcribed. It was likewise discovered that *Gallas* had, in his dispatches to the present Emperor, then in *Spain*, represented the Queen and her ministers as not to be confided in; that when her Majesty had dismissed the Earl of *Sunderland*, she promised to proceed no further in the change of her servants, yet soon after turned them all out, and thereby ruined the public credit, as well as abandoned

Spain;

Spain; that the present ministers wanted the abilities and good dispositions of the former; were persons of ill designs, and enemies to the common cause; and he (*Gallas*) could not trust them. In his letters to Count *Zinzendorf*, he said, "That Mr. Secretary *St. John* complained of the house of *Austria's* backwardness, only to make the King of *Spain* odious to *England*, and the people here desirous of a peace, although it were ever so bad a one;" to prevent which, Count *Gallas* drew up a memorial, which he intended to give the Queen, and transmitted a draught of it to *Zinzendorf* for his advice and approbation. This memorial, among other great promises to encourage the continuance of the war, proposed the detaching a good body of troops from *Hungary*, to serve in *Italy* or *Spain*, as the Queen should think fit.

Zinzendorf thought this too bold a step, without consulting the Emperor: to which *Gallas* replied, that his design was only to engage the Queen to go on with the war; that *Zinzendorf* knew how earnestly the *English* and *Dutch* had pressed to have these troops from *Hungary*; and therefore they ought to be promised, in order to quiet those two nations, after which several ways might be found to elude that promise; and, in the mean time, the great point would be gained, of bringing the *English* to declare for continuing the war: That the Emperor might afterwards excuse himself, by apprehension of a war in *Hungary*, or of that between the *Turks* and *Muscovites*:

Muscovites : That if these excuses should be at an end, a detachment of one or two regiments might be sent, and the rest deferred, by pretending want of money ; by which the Queen would probably be brought to maintain some part of those troops, and perhaps the whole body. He added, that this way of management was very common among the Allies ; and gave for an example, the forces which the *Dutch* had promised for the service of *Spain*, but were never sent ; with several other instances of the same kind, which he said might be produced.

Her Majesty, who had long suspected that Count *Gallas* was engaged in these and the like practices, having at last received authentic proofs of this whole intrigue, from original letters, and the voluntary confession of those, who were principally concerned in carrying it on, thought it necessary to shew her resentment, by refusing the Count any more access to her person or her court.

Although the Queen, as it hath been already observed, was resolved to open the conferences upon the general preliminaries, yet she thought it would very much forward the peace, to know what were the utmost concessions which *France* would make to the several Allies, but especially to the States-General and the Duke of *Savoy* ; therefore, while her Majesty was pressing the former to agree to a general treaty, the Abbé *Gualtier* was sent to *France* with a memorial, to desire that the most Christian King would explain himself upon those preliminaries, particularly with

relation to *Savoy* and *Holland*, whose satisfaction the Queen had most at heart, as well from her friendship to both these powers, as because, if she might engage to them that their just pretensions would be allowed, few difficulties would remain, of any moment, to retard the general peace.

The *French* answer to this memorial contained several schemes and proposals for the satisfaction of each Ally, coming up very near to what her Majesty and her ministers thought reasonable. The greatest difficulties seemed to be about the Elector of *Bavaria*, for whose interests *France* appeared to be as much concerned, as the Queen was for those of the Duke of *Savoy*: however, those were judged not very hard to be surmounted.

The States having at length agreed to a general treaty, the following particulars were concerted between her Majesty and that Republic.

“ That the congress should be held at *Utrecht* ;
“ that the opening of the congress should be upon
“ the 12th of *January*, N. S. 1711-12.

“ That for avoiding all inconveniencies of ceremony, the ministers of the Queen and States,
“ during the treaty, should have only the characters of plenipotentiaries, and not take that of
“ ambassadors, till the day on which the peace
“ should be signed.

“ Lastly, the Queen and States insisted, that
“ the ministers of the Duke of *Anjou*, and the
“ late Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*, should
“ not appear at the congress until the points relating to their masters were adjusted; and were
“ firmly

“ firmly resolved not to send their passports for the
 “ ministers of *France*, till the most Christian
 “ King declared, that the absence of the fore-
 “ mentioned ministers should not delay the pro-
 “ gress of the negociation.”

Pursuant to the three former articles, her Majesty wrote circular letters to all the Allies engaged with her in the present war; and *France* had notice, that as soon as the King declared his compliance with the last article, the blank passports should be filled up with the names of the Marechal *D'Uxelles*, the Abbé *de Polignac*, and *Monf. Mesnager*, who were appointed plenipotentiaries for that crown.

From what I have hitherto deduced, the reader sees the plan which the Queen thought the most effectual for advancing a peace. As the conferences were to begin upon the general preliminaries, the Queen was to be empowered by *France* to offer separately to the Allies, what might be reasonable for each to accept; and her own interests being previously settled, she was to act as a general mediator: a figure that became her best, from the part she had in the war, and more useful to the great end at which she aimed, of giving a safe and honourable peace to *Europe*.

Besides, it was absolutely necessary for the interests of *Britain*, that the Queen should be at the head of the negociation, without which her Majesty could find no expedient to redress the injuries her kingdoms were sure to suffer by the Barrier Treaty. In order to settle this point with the

States, the ministers here had a conference with Monsieur *Buys*, a few days before the parliament met. He was told, “how necessary it was, by
“a previous concert between the Emperor, the
“Queen, and the States, to prevent any difference which might arise in the course of the
“*Utrecht* treaty; that, under pretence of a barrier for the States-General, as their security against *France*, infinite prejudice might arise to
“the trade of *Britain*, in the *Spanish Netherlands*; for, by the fifteenth article of the Barrier Treaty, in consequence of what was stipulated by
“that of *Munster*, the Queen was brought to engage, that commerce shall not be rendered
“more easy, in point of duties, by the sea-ports of *Flanders*, than it is by the river *Scheld*, and by
“the canals on the side of the Seven Provinces, which, as things now stood, was very unjust;
“for while the towns in *Flanders* were in the hands of *France* or *Spain*, the *Dutch* and we
“traded to them upon equal foot; but now, since by the Barrier Treaty those towns were to be
“possessed by the States, that republic might lay what duties they pleased upon *British* goods, after passing by *Ostend*, and make their own custom free, which would utterly ruin our whole
“trade with *Flanders*.”

Upon this the Lords told Monsieur *Buys* very frankly, “That if the States expected the Queen
“should support their Barrier, as well as their demands from *France* and the house of *Austria*
“upon that head, they ought to agree, that the
“subjects

“ subjects of *Britain* should trade as freely to all
 “ the countries and places which, by virtue of
 “ any former or future treaty, were to become
 “ the barrier of the States, as they did in the
 “ time of the late King *Charles* the Second of
 “ *Spain*, or as the subjects of the States-General
 “ themselves shall do ; and that it was hoped their
 “ High Mightinesses would never scruple to rec-
 “ tify a mistake so injurious to that nation, with-
 “ out whose blood and treasure they would have
 “ had no Barrier at all.” Monsieur *Buys* had no-
 thing to answer against these objections, but said,
 he had already wrote to his Masters for further
 instructions.

Greater difficulties occurred about settling
 what should be the barrier to the States after a
 peace, the envoy insisting to have all the towns
 that were named in the treaty of barrier and
 succession ; and the Queen’s ministers excepting
 those towns, which, if they continued in the
 hands of the *Dutch*, would render the trade of
Britain to *Flanders* precarious. At length it was
 agreed in general, that the States ought to have
 what is really essential to the security of their
 barrier against *France*, and that some amicable
 expedient should be found, for removing the fears
 both of *Britain* and *Holland* upon this point.

But, at the same time, Mons. *Buys* was told,
 “ That although the Queen would certainly insist
 “ to obtain all those points from *France*, in be-
 “ half of her allies the States, yet she hoped his
 “ masters were too reasonable to break off the
 “ treaty,

“ treaty, rather than not obtain the very utmost
 “ of their demands, which could not be settled
 “ here, unless he were fully instructed to speak
 “ and conclude upon that subject: That her
 “ Majesty thought, the best way of securing the
 “ common interest, and preventing the division
 “ of the allies, by the artifices of *France*, in the
 “ course of a long negotiation, would be, to con-
 “ cert between the Queen’s ministers and those
 “ of the States, with a due regard to the other
 “ confederates, such a plan as might amount to
 “ a safe and honourable peace.” After which,
 the Abbé *Polignac*, who, of the *French* plenipo-
 tentiaries, was most in the secret of his court,
 might be told, “ That it was in vain to amuse
 “ each other any longer; that, on such terms,
 “ the peace would be immediately concluded;
 “ and that the conferences must cease, if those
 “ conditions were not, without delay, and with
 “ expedition, granted.”

A treaty between her Majesty and the States,
 to subsist after a peace, was now signed, Monsieur
Buys having received full powers to that purpose.
 His masters were desirous to have a private ar-
 ticle added, *sub sperati*, concerning those terms of
 peace, without the granting of which, we should
 stipulate, not to agree with the enemy. But
 neither the character of *Buys*, nor the manner in
 which he was empowered to treat, would allow
 the Queen to enter into such an engagement.
 The congress likewise approaching, there was not
 time to settle a point of so great importance.
 Neither,

Neither, lastly, would her Majesty be tied down by *Holland*, without previous satisfaction upon several articles in the barrier treaty, so inconsistent with her engagement to other powers in the alliance, and so injurious to her own kingdoms.

The Lord Privy-Seal, and the Earl of *Stratford* having, about the time the parliament met, been appointed her Majesty's plenipotentiaries for treating a general peace, I shall here break off the account of any further progress made in that great affair, until I resume it in the last book of this history.

B O O K III.

THE house of commons seemed resolved, from the beginning of the session, to enquire strictly, not only into all abuses relating to the accounts of the army, but likewise into the several treaties between us and our allies; upon what articles and conditions they were first agreed to; and how these had been since observed. In the first week of their sitting, they sent an address to the Queen, to desire that the treaty, whereby her Majesty was obliged to furnish forty thousand men, to act in conjunction with the forces of her allies in the Low Countries, might be laid before the house. To which the secretary of state brought an answer, "That search had been made, but no footsteps could be found of any treaty or convention for that purpose." It was this unaccountable neglect in the former ministry,

ministry, which first gave a pretence to the allies for lessening their quotas, so much to the disadvantage of her Majesty, her kingdoms, and the common cause, in the course of the war. It had been stipulated by the grand alliance between the Emperor, *Britain*, and the States, that those three powers should assist each other with their whole force, and that the several proportions should be specified in a particular convention. But if any such convention were made, it was never ratified; only the parties agreed, by common consent, to take each a certain share of the burthen upon themselves, which the late King *William* communicated to the house of commons by his secretary of state, and which afterwards, the other two powers, observing the mighty zeal in our ministry for prolonging the war, eluded as they pleased.

The commissioners for stating the public accounts of the kingdom, had, in executing their office the preceding summer, discovered several practices relating to the affairs of the army, which they drew up in a report, and delivered to the house.

The commons began their examination of the report, with a member of their own, Mr. *Robert Walpole*, already mentioned, who, during his being secretary at war, had received five hundred guineas, and taken a note for five hundred pounds more, on account of two contracts for forage of the Queen's troops quartered in *Scotland*. He endeavoured to excuse the first contract.

tract; but had nothing to say about the second. The first appeared so plain and so scandalous to the commons, that they voted the author of it guilty of a high breach of trust, and notorious corruption; committed him prisoner to the Tower, where he continued to the end of the session; and expelled him the house. He was a person much caressed by the opposers of the Queen and ministry, having been first drawn into their party by his indifference to any principles, and afterwards kept steady by the loss of his place. His bold forward countenance, altogether a stranger to that infirmity which makes men bashful, joined to a readiness of speaking in public, hath justly entitled him, among those of his faction, to be a sort of leader of the second form. The reader must excuse me for being so particular about one, who is otherwise altogether obscure.

Another part of the report, concerned the Duke of *Marlborough*, who had received large sums of money, by way of gratuity, from those who were the undertakers for providing the army with bread. This the Duke excused, in a letter to the commissioners, from the like practice of other generals; but that excuse appeared to be of little weight; and the mischievous consequences of such a corruption were visible enough, since the money given by these undertakers were but bribes for connivance at their indirect dealings with the army. And as frauds that begin at the top, are apt to spread through all the subordinate ranks

ranks of those who have any share in the management, and to increase as they circulate; so, in this case, for every thousand pounds given to the general, the soldiers, at least, suffered four-fold.

Another article of this report, relating to the Duke, was yet of more importance. The greatest part of her Majesty's forces in *Flanders*, were mercenary troops, hired from several princes of *Europe*. It was found, that the Queen's general subtracted two and a half *per cent.* out of the pay of those troops, for his own use, which amounted to a great annual sum. The Duke of *Marlborough*, in his letter already mentioned, endeavouring to extenuate the matter, told the commissioners, "That this deduction was a free gift from the
"foreign troops, which he had negotiated with
"them by the late King's orders, and had obtained the Queen's warrant for reserving and
"receiving it: That it was intended for secret
"service, the ten thousand pounds a-year, given
"by parliament, not proving sufficient, and had
"all been laid out that way." The commissioners observed in answer, "That the warrant was
"kept dormant for nine years, as indeed no entry of it appeared in the secretary of state's
"books, and the deduction of it concealed all
"that time from the knowledge of parliament;
"that if it had been a free gift from the foreign
"troops, it would not have been stipulated by
"agreement, as the Duke's letter confessed, and
"as his warrant declared; which letter affirmed
"this stoppage to be intended for defraying ex-
"traordinary

“traordinary contingent expences of the troops,
 “and therefore should not have been applied to
 “secret services.” They submitted to the house,
 whether the warrant itself were legal, or duly
 counter-signed. The commissioners added, “That
 “no receipt was ever given for this deducted
 “money, nor was it mentioned in any receipts
 “from the foreign troops, which were always
 “taken in full. And lastly, that the whole sum,
 “on computation, amounted to near three hun-
 “dred thousand pounds.”

The house, after a long debate, resolved, “That
 “the taking several sums from the contractors
 “for bread, by the Duke of *Marlborough*, was
 “unwarrantable and illegal; and that the two
 “and a half *per cent.* deducted from the foreign
 “troops, was public money, and ought to be ac-
 “counted for.” Which resolutions were laid
 before the Queen by the whole house, and her
 Majesty promised to do her part in redressing
 what was complained of. The Duke and his
 friends had, about the beginning of the war, by
 their credit with the Queen, procured a warrant
 from her Majesty for this perquisite of two and a
 half *per cent.* The warrant was directed to the
 Duke of *Marlborough*, and counter-signed by Sir
Charles Hedges, then secretary of state; by virtue
 of which, the paymaster-general of the army
 was to pay the said deducted money to the gene-
 ral, and take a receipt in full from the foreign
 troops.

It was observed, as very commendable, and be-
 coming

coming the dignity of such an assembly, that this debate was managed with great temper, and with few personal reflections upon the Duke of *Marlborough*. They seemed only desirous to come at the truth, without which they could not answer the trust reposed in them, by those whom they represented; and left the rest to her Majesty's prudence. The attorney-general was ordered to commence an action against the Duke for the subtracted money, which would have amounted to a great sum, enough to ruin any private person, except himself. This process is still depending, although very moderately pursued, either by the Queen's indulgence to one whom she had formerly so much trusted, or perhaps to be revived or slackened, according to the future demeanour of the defendant.

Some time after, Mr. *Cardonell*, a member of parliament, and secretary to the general in *Flanders*, was expelled the house, for the offence of receiving yearly bribes from those who had contracted to furnish bread for the army, and met with no farther punishment, for a practice voted to be unwarrantable and corrupt.

These were all the censures, of any moment, which the commons, under so great a weight of business, thought fit to make, upon the reports of their commissioners for inspecting the public accounts. But having promised, in the beginning of this history, to examine the state of the nation, with respect to its debts; by what negligence or corruption they first began, and, in process of time,

time, made such a prodigious increase; and lastly, what courses have been taken under the present administration, to find out funds for answering so many unprovided incumbrances, as well as put a stop to new ones; I shall endeavour to satisfy the reader upon this important article.

By all I have yet read of the history of our own country, it appears to me, that the national debt, secured upon parliamentary funds of interest, were things unknown in *England* before the last revolution under the Prince of *Orange*. It is true, that in the grand rebellion, the King's enemies borrowed money of particular persons, upon what they called the public faith; but this was only for short periods, and the sums no more than what they could pay at once, as they constantly did. Some of our Kings have been very profuse in peace and war, and are blamed in history for their oppressions of the people by severe taxes, and for borrowing money which they never paid; but national debts was a style which, I doubt, would hardly then be understood. When the Prince of *Orange* was raised to the throne, and a general war began in these parts of *Europe*, the King and his counsellors thought it would be ill policy to commence his reign with heavy taxes upon the people, who had lived long in ease and plenty, and might be apt to think their deliverance too dearly bought; wherefore, one of the first actions of the new government was to take off the tax upon chimnies, as a burthen very ungrateful to the commonalty. But money being wanted to

support the war (which even the convention parliament, that put the crown upon his head, were very unwilling he should engage in) the present Bishop of *Salisbury** is said to have found out that expedient (which he had learned in *Holland*) of raising money upon the security of taxes, that were only sufficient to pay a large interest. The motives which prevailed on people to fall in with this project, were many and plausible; for supposing, as the ministers industriously gave out, that the war could not last above one or two campaigns at most, it might be carried on with very moderate taxes; and the debts accruing, would, in process of time, be easily cleared after a peace. Then the bait of large interest would draw in a great number of those whose money, by the dangers and difficulties of trade, lay dead upon their hands; and whoever were lenders to the government, would, by surest principle, be obliged to support it. Besides, the men of estates could not be persuaded, without time and difficulty, to have those taxes laid on their lands, which custom hath since made so familiar; and it was the business of such as were then in power, to cultivate a monied interest, because the gentry of the kingdom did not very much relish those new notions in government, to which the King, who had imbibed his politics in his own country, was thought to give too much way. Neither, perhaps, did that Prince, think national incumbrances to be any evil at all, since the flourishing
republic

* Dr. Gilbert Burnet.

republic where he was born, is thought to owe more than ever it will be able or willing to pay. And I remember, when I mentioned to *Monf. Buys* the many millions we owed, he would advance it as a maxim, that it was for the interest of the public to be in debt; which, perhaps, may be true in a commonwealth so crazily instituted, where the governors cannot have too many pledges of their subjects fidelity, and where a great majority must inevitably be undone by any revolution, however brought about: but to prescribe the same rules to a monarchy, whose wealth ariseth from the rents and improvements of lands, as well as trade and manufactures, is the mark of a confined and cramped understanding.

I was moved to speak thus, because I am very well satisfied, that the pernicious counsels of borrowing money upon public funds of interest, as well as some other state-lessons, were taken indigested from the like practices among the *Dutch*, without allowing in the least for any difference in government, religion, law, custom, extent of country, or manners and dispositions of the people.

But when this expedient of anticipations and mortgages was first put in practice, artful men in office and credit, began to consider what uses it might be applied to; and soon found it was likely to prove the most fruitful seminary, not only to establish a faction they intended to set up for their own support, but likewise to raise vast wealth for themselves in particular, who were to be the managers and directors in it. It was manifest, that nothing

could promote these two designs so much, as burthening the nation with debts, and giving encouragement to lenders: for, as to the first, it was not to be doubted, that monied men would be always firm to the party of those who advised the borrowing upon such good security, and with such exorbitant premiums and interest; and every new sum that was lent, took away as much power from the landed men, as it added to theirs: so that the deeper the kingdom was engaged, it was still the better for them. Thus, a new estate and property sprung up in the hands of mortgagees, to whom every house and foot of land in *England* paid a rent-charge, free of all taxes and defalcations, and purchased at less than half value: so that the gentlemen of estates were, in effect, but tenants to these new landlords; many of whom were able, in time, to force the election of boroughs out of the hands of those who had been the old proprietors and inhabitants. This was arrived to such a height, that a very few years more of war and funds would have clearly cast the balance on the monied side.

As to the second, this project of borrowing upon funds, was of mighty advantage to those who were in the management of it, as well as to their friends and dependants; for, funds proving often deficient, the government was obliged to strike tallies for making up the rest, which tallies were sometimes (to speak in the merchant's phrase) at above forty *per cent.* discount. At this price, those who were in the secret, bought them up, and

FOUR LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 101

and then took care to have that deficiency supplied in the next session of parliament, by which they doubled their principal in a few months; and, for the encouragement of lenders, every new project of lotteries or annuities proposed some farther advantage, either as to interest or premium.

In the year 1697, a general mortgage was made of certain revenues and taxes already settled, which amounted to near a million a year. This mortgage was to continue till 1706, to be a fund for the payment of about five millions one hundred thousand pounds. In the first parliament of the Queen, the said mortgage was continued till 1710, to supply a deficiency of two millions three hundred thousand pounds, and interest of above a million; and, in the intermediate years, a great part of that fund was branched out into annuities for ninety-nine years; so that the late ministry raised all their money to 1710, only by continuing funds which were already granted to their hands. This deceived the people in general, who were satisfied to continue the payments they had been accustomed to, and made the administration seem easy, since the war went on without any new taxes raised, except the very last year they were in power; not considering what a mighty fund was exhausted, and must be perpetuated, although extremely injurious to trade, and to the true interest of the nation.

This great fund of the general mortgage was not only loaded, year after year, by mighty sums borrowed upon it, but with the interests due up-

on those sums; for which the treasury was forced to strike tallies, payable out of that fund, after all the money already borrowed upon it, there being no other provision of interest for three or four years: till at last the fund was so overloaded, that it could neither pay principal nor interest; and tallies were struck for both, which occasioned their great discount.

But, to avoid mistakes upon a subject where I am not very well versed, either in the style or matter, I will transcribe an account sent me by a person * who is thoroughly instructed in these affairs.

‘ In the year 1707, the sum of eight hundred
‘ twenty-two thousand three hundred and eighty-
‘ one pounds fifteen shillings and sixpence was
‘ raised, by continuing part of the general mort-
‘ gage from 1710 to 1712; but with no provi-
‘ sion of interest till *August* the first, 1710, other-
‘ wise than by striking tallies for it on that fund,
‘ payable after all the other money borrowed.

‘ In 1708, the same funds were continued from
‘ 1712 to 1714, to raise seven hundred twenty-
‘ nine thousand sixty-seven pounds fifteen shil-
‘ lings and sixpence; but no provision for interest
‘ till *August* the first, 1712, otherwise than as be-
‘ fore, by striking tallies for it on the same fund,
‘ payable after all the rest of the money borrow-
‘ ed. And the discount of tallies then beginning
‘ to rise, great part of that money remains still
‘ unraised; and there is nothing to pay interest
‘ for

* Sir John Blount.

' for the money lent, till *August* the first, 1712.
 ' But the late lord treasurer struck tallies for the
 ' full sum directed by the act to be borrowed;
 ' great part of which have been delivered in pay-
 ' ment to the navy and victualling-offices, and
 ' some are still in the hands of the government.

' In 1709, part of the same fund was continu-
 ' ed from *August* the first, 1714, to *August* the
 ' first, 1716, to raise six hundred forty-five thou-
 ' sand pounds; and no provision for interest till
 ' *August* the first, 1714, (which was about five
 ' years) but by borrowing money on the same
 ' fund, payable after the sums before lent; so
 ' that little of that money was lent. But the tal-
 ' lies were struck for what was unlent, some of
 ' which were given out for the payment of the
 ' navy and victualling, and some still remain in
 ' the hands of the government.

' In 1710, the sums which were before given
 ' from 1714 to 1716, were continued from thence
 ' to 1720, to raise 1,296,552 *l.* 9 *s.* 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* and no
 ' immediate provision for interest till *August* the
 ' first, 1716; only, after the duty of one shilling
 ' *per* bushel, on salt, should be cleared from the
 ' money it was then charged with, and which
 ' was not so cleared till *Midsummer* 1712 last,
 ' then that fund was to be applied to pay the in-
 ' terest till *August* the first, 1716, which interest
 ' amounted to about 77,793 *l.* *per annum*; and
 ' the said salt fund produceth but about 55,000 *l.*
 ' *per annum*; so that no money was borrowed up-
 ' on the general mortgage in 1710, except
 ' 150,000 *l.*

' 150,000 *l.* lent by the *Swiss* cantons; but tal-
 ' lies were struck for the whole sum. These all
 ' remained in the late treasurer's hands at the
 ' time of his removal; yet the money was expend-
 ' ed, which occasioned those great demands up-
 ' on the commissioners of the treasury who suc-
 ' ceeded him, and were forced to pawn those tal-
 ' lies to the bank, or to remitters, rather than sell
 ' them at 20 or 25 *per cent.* discount, as the price
 ' then was. About 200,000 *l.* of them they paid
 ' to clothiers of the army, and others; and all the
 ' rest, being above 90,000 *l.* have been sub-
 ' scribed into the *South-Sea* company, for the use
 ' of the public.'

When the Earl of *Godolphin* was removed from
 his employment, he left a debt upon the navy,
 of millions, all contracted under his ad-
 ministration, which had no parliament-security,
 and was daily increased. Neither could I ever
 learn, whether that lord had the smallest pro-
 spect of clearing this incumbrance, or whether
 there were policy, negligence, or despair at the
 bottom of this unaccountable management. But
 the consequences were visible and ruinous; for
 by this means navy-bills grew to be 40 *per cent.*
 discount, and upwards; and almost every kind of
 stores, bought by the navy and victualling-offices,
 cost the government double rates, and sometimes
 more; so that the public hath directly lost several
 millions upon this one article, without any sort of
 necessity, that I could ever hear assigned by the a-
 blest vindicators of that party.

In

In this oppressed and entangled state was the kingdom, with relation to its debts, when the Queen removed the Earl of *Godolphin* from his office, and put it into commission, of which the present treasurer was one. This person had been chosen speaker successively to three parliaments, was afterwards secretary of state, and always in great esteem with the Queen, for his wisdom and fidelity. The late ministry, about two years before their fall, had prevailed with her Majesty, much against her inclination, to dismiss him from her service; for which they cannot be justly blamed, since he had endeavoured the same thing against them, and very narrowly failed; which makes it the more extraordinary, that he should succeed in a second attempt against those very adversaries, who had such fair warning by the first. He is firm and steady in his resolutions, not easily diverted from them, after he hath once possessed himself of an opinion that they are right, nor very communicative where he can act by himself, being taught by experience, that a secret is seldom safe in more than one breast. That which occurs to other men, after mature deliberation, offers to him as his first thoughts; so that he decides immediately what is best to be done; and therefore, is seldom at a loss upon sudden exigencies. He thinks it a more easy and safe rule in politics, to watch incidents as they come, and and then turn them to the advantage of what he pursues, than pretend to foresee them at a great distance. Fear, cruelty, avarice, and pride, are wholly

wholly strangers to his nature ; but he is not without ambition. There is one thing peculiar in his temper, which I altogether disapprove, and do not remember to have heard or met with in any other man's character : I mean, an easiness and indifference under any imputation, although he be never so innocent, and although the strongest probabilities and appearances are against him ; so that I have known him often suspected by his nearest friends, for some months, in points of the highest importance, to a degree that they were ready to break with him, and only undeceived by time and accident. His detractors, who charge him with cunning, are but ill acquainted with his character ; for, in the sense they take the word, and as it is usually understood, I know no man to whom that mean talent could be with less justice applied, as the conduct of affairs, while he hath been at the helm, doth clearly demonstrate, very contrary to the nature and principles of cunning, which is always employed in serving little turns, proposing little ends, and supplying daily exigencies by little shifts and expedients. But, to rescue a prince out of the hands of insolent subjects, bent upon such designs as must probably end in the ruin of the government ; to find out means for paying such exorbitant debts as this nation hath been involved in, and reduce it to a better management ; to make a potent enemy offer advantageous terms of peace, and deliver up the most important fortress of his kingdom, as a security ; and this against all the opposition,
mutually

mutually raised and inflamed by parties and allies: such performances can only be called cunning by those whose want of understanding, or of candour, puts them upon finding ill names for great qualities of the mind, which themselves do neither possess, nor can form any just conception of. However, it must be allowed, that an obstinate love of secrecy in this minister, seems, at distance, to have some resemblance of cunning; for he is not only very retentive of secrets, but appears to be so too, which I number amongst his defects. He hath been blamed by his friends, for refusing to discover his intentions, even in those points where the wisest man may have need of advice and assistance; and some have censured him, upon that account, as if he were jealous of power: but he hath been heard to answer, "That he
" seldom did otherwise, without cause to re-
" pent."

However, soundistinguished a caution cannot, in my opinion, be justified; by which the owner loseth many advantages, and whereof all men, who deserved to be confided in, may, with some reason, complain. His love of procrastination (wherein doubtless nature hath her share) may probably be increased by the same means; but this is an imputation laid upon many other great ministers, who, like men under too heavy a load, let fall that which is of the least consequence, and go back to fetch it when their shoulders are free; for time is often gained, as well as lost, by delay, which, at worst, is a fault on the securer side.

Neither

Neither, probably, is this minister answerable for half the clamour raised against him upon that article: His endeavours are wholly turned upon the general welfare of his country, but perhaps with too little regard to that of particular persons, which renders him less amiable, than he would otherwise have been from the goodness of his humour, and agreeable conversation in a private capacity, and with few dependers. Yet some allowance may perhaps be given to this failing, which is one of the greatest he hath, since he cannot be more careless of other mens fortunes than he is of his own. He is master of a very great and faithful memory, which is of mighty use in the management of public affairs; and I believe there are few examples to be produced in any age, of a person who hath passed through so many employments in the state, endowed with a great share both of divine and human learning.

I am persuaded that foreigners, as well as those at home, who live too remote from the scene of business, to be rightly informed, will not be displeased with this account of a person, who, in the space of two years, hath been so highly instrumental in changing the face of affairs in *Europe*, and hath deserved so well of his own prince and country.

In that perplexed condition of the public debts, which I have already described, this minister was brought into the treasury and exchequer, and had the chief direction of affairs. His first regulation was that of exchequer bills; which, to the great discouragement

discouragement of public credit, and scandal to the crown, were three *per cent.* less in value than the sums specified in them. The present treasurer, being then chancellor of the exchequer, procured an act of parliament, by which the bank of *England* should be obliged, in consideration of 45,000 l. to accept and circulate those bills, without any discount. He then proceeded to stop the depredations of those who dealt in remittances of money to the army, who, by unheard-of exactions in that kind of traffic, had amassed prodigious wealth at the public cost, to which the Earl of *Godolphin* had given too much way *, *possibly by neglect ; for I think he cannot be accused of corruption.*

But the new treasurer's chief concern was to restore the credit of the nation, by finding some settlement for unprovided debts, amounting in the whole to ten millions, which hung on the public as a load equally heavy and disgraceful, without any prospect of being removed, and which former ministers never had the care or courage to inspect. He resolved to go at once to the bottom of this evil ; and having computed and summed up the debt of the navy, and victualling, ordnance, and transport of the army, and transport debentures made out for the service of the last war, of the general mortgage-tallies for the year 1710, and some other deficiencies, he then found out a fund of interest sufficient to answer all this, which, being applied to other uses, could not

VOL. XII.

L

raise

* Added in the author's own hand-writing.

raise present money for the war, but, in a very few years, would clear the debt it was engaged for. The intermediate accruing interest was to be paid by the treasurer of the navy; and, as a farther advantage to the creditors, they should be erected into a company, for trading to the South-seas, and for encouragement of fishery. When all this was fully prepared and digested, he made a motion in the house of commons (who deferred extremely to his judgment and abilities) for paying the debts of the navy, and other unprovided deficiencies, without entering into particulars, which was immediately voted. But a sudden stop was put to this affair by an unforeseen accident. The Chancellor of the Exchequer (which was then his title) being stabbed with a penknife, the following day, at the Cockpit, in the midst of a dozen lords of the council, by the *Sieur de Guiscard* a *French* papist; the circumstances of which fact being not within the compass of this history, I shall only observe, that, after two months confinement, and frequent danger of his life, he returned to his seat in parliament †.

The overtures made by this minister, of paying so vast a debt, under the pressures of a long war, and the difficulty of finding supplies for continuing it, was, during the time of his illness, ridiculed by his enemies as an impracticable and visionary project: and when, upon his return to the house, he had explained his proposal, the very proprietors of the debt were, many of them, prevailed

† See the particular account in the Examiner, vol. III.

vailed on to oppose it; although the obtaining this trade, either through *Old Spain*, or directly to the *Spanish West-Indies*, had been one principal end we aimed at by this war. However, the bill passed; and, as an immediate consequence, the naval bills rose to about twenty *per cent.* nor ever fell within ten of their discount. Another good effect of this work appeared by the parliamentary lotteries, which have been since erected. The last of that kind, under the former ministry, was eleven weeks in filling; whereas the first, under the present, was filled in a very few hours, although it cost the government less; and the others, which followed, were full before the acts concerning them could pass. And, to prevent incumbrances of this kind from growing for the future, he took care, by the utmost parsimony, or by suspending payments, where they seemed less to press, that all stores for the navy should be bought with ready money; by which *cent. per cent.* hath been saved in that mighty article of our expence, as will appear from an account taken at the victualling-office on the ninth of *August* 1712, and the payment of the interest was less a burthen upon the navy, by the stores being bought at so cheap a rate.

It might look invidious to enter into farther particulars upon this head, but of smaller moment. What I have above related, may serve to shew in how ill a condition the kingdom stood, with relation to its debts, by the corruption, as well as negligence, of former management; and

what prudent, effectual measures have since been taken, to provide for old incumbrances, and hinder the running into new. This may be sufficient for the information of the reader, perhaps already tired with a subject so little entertaining as that of accounts: I shall therefore now return to relate some of the principal matters that passed in parliament during this session.

Upon the eighteenth of *January*, the house of lords sent down a bill to the commons, for fixing the precedence of the *Hanover* family, which probably had been forgot in the acts for settling the succession of the crown. That of *Henry VIII.* which gives the rank to princes of the blood, carries it no farther than to nephews, nieces, and grand-children of the crown; by virtue of which the princess *Sophia* is a princess of the blood, as niece to king *Charles I. of England*, and precedes accordingly; but this privilege doth not descend to her son the elector, or the electoral prince. To supply which defect, and pay a compliment to the presumptive heirs of the crown, this bill, as appeareth by the preamble, was recommended by her Majesty to the House of Lords; which the Commons, to shew their zeal for every thing that might be thought to concern the interest or honour of that illustrious family, ordered to be read thrice, and passed *nemine contradicente*, and returned to the Lords, without any amendment, on the very day it was sent down.

But the house seemed to have nothing more at heart than a strict enquiry into the state of the nation,

nation, with respect to foreign alliances. Some discourses had been published in print, about the beginning of the session, boldly complaining of certain articles in the Barrier-treaty concluded about three years since by the Lord Viscount *Townsend*, between *Great Britain* and the States-General; and shewing, in many particulars, the unequal conduct of these powers in our alliance, in furnishing their quotas and supplies. It was asserted by the same writers, "That these hardships, put upon *England*, had been countenanced and encouraged by a party here at home, in order to preserve their power, which could be no otherwise maintained than by continuing the war, as well as by her Majesty's general approach, upon account of his own peculiar interest and grandeur." These loud accusations spreading themselves throughout the kingdom, delivered in facts directly charged, and thought, whether true or not, to be but weakly confuted, had sufficiently prepared the minds of the people; and, by putting arguments into every body's mouth, had filled the town and country with controversies, both in writing and discourse. The point appeared to be of great consequence, whether the war continued or not: for, in the former case, it was necessary that the Allies should be brought to a more equal regulation; and that the States in particular, for whom her Majesty had done such great things, should explain and correct those articles in the barrier-treaty which were prejudicial to *Britain*; and, in either case, it was

fit the people should have at least the satisfaction of knowing by whose counsels, and for what designs, they had been so hardly treated.

In order to this great enquiry, the barrier-treaty, with all other treaties and agreements, entered into between her Majesty and her Allies, during the present war, for the raising and augmenting the proportions for the service thereof, were, by the Queen's directions, laid before the house.

Several resolutions were drawn up, and reported at different times, upon the deficiencies of the Allies in furnishing their quotas, upon certain articles in the barrier-treaty, and upon the state of the war; by all which it appeared, that whatever had been charged, by public discourses in print, against the late ministry, and the conduct of the Allies, was much less than the truth. Upon these resolutions (by one of which the Lord Viscount *Townshend*, who negotiated and signed the barrier-treaty, was declared an enemy to the Queen and kingdom,) and upon some farther directions to the committee, a representation was formed; and soon after the Commons, in a body, presented it to the Queen, the endeavours of the adverse party not prevailing to have it recommitted.

This representation (supposed to be the work of Sir *Thomas Hanmer's* pen) is written with much energy and spirit, and will be a very useful authentic record, for the assistance of those who at any time shall undertake to write the history of the present times.

I did

I did intend, for brevity's sake, to have given the reader only an abstract of it; but, upon trial, found myself unequal to such a task, without injuring so excellent a piece: and, although I think historical relations are but ill patched up with long transcripts already printed, which, upon that account, I have hitherto avoided; yet, this being the sum of all debates and resolutions of the House of Commons, in that great affair of the war, I conceived it could not be well omitted.

“ Most gracious Sovereign,

“ We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal
 “ subjects, the Commons of *Great-Britain* in par-
 “ liament assembled, having nothing so much at
 “ heart as to enable your Majesty to bring this
 “ long and expensive war to an honourable and
 “ happy conclusion, have taken it into our most
 “ serious consideration, how the necessary sup-
 “ plies to be provided by us may be best applied;
 “ and how the common cause may in the most
 “ effectual manner be carried on, by the united
 “ force of the whole confederacy: we have
 “ thought ourselves obliged, in duty to your Ma-
 “ jesty, and in discharge of the trust reposed in
 “ us, to inquire into the true state of the war, in
 “ all its parts: we have examined what stipula-
 “ tions have been entered into between your Ma-
 “ jesty and your allies, and how far such en-
 “ gagements have on each side been made good:
 “ we have considered the different interests
 “ which the confederates have in the success of
 “ this

“ this war, and the different shares they have
“ contributed to its support: we have, with our
“ utmost care and diligence, endeavoured to dis-
“ cover the nature, extent, and charge of it, to
“ the end, that, by comparing the weight there-
“ of with our own strength, we might adapt the
“ one to the other in such measure, as neither to
“ continue your Majesty’s subjects under a hea-
“ vier burthen, than in reason and justice they
“ ought to bear; nor deceive your Majesty, your
“ allies, and ourselves, by undertaking more than
“ the nation, in its present circumstances, is able
“ to perform.

“ Your Majesty has been graciously pleased,
“ upon our humble applications, to order such
“ materials to be laid before us, as have furnish-
“ ed us with the necessary information upon the
“ particulars we have inquired into; and, when
“ we shall have laid before your Majesty our ob-
“ servations, and humble advice upon this sub-
“ ject, we promise to ourselves this happy fruit
“ from it, that if your Majesty’s generous and
“ good purposes, for the procuring a safe and
“ lasting peace, should, through the obstinacy of
“ the enemy, or by any other means, be unhap-
“ pily defeated, a true knowledge and understand-
“ ing of the past conduct of the war, will be the
“ best foundation for a more frugal and equal
“ management of it for the time to come.

“ In order to take the more perfect view of what
“ we have proposed, and that we might be able
“ to set the whole before your Majesty in a true
“ light,

“light, we have thought it necessary to go back
 “to the beginning of the war, and beg leave to
 “observe the motives and reasons upon which
 “his late Majesty King *William* first engaged in
 “it. The treaty of the grand alliance explains
 “those reasons to be, for the supporting the pre-
 “tensions of his Imperial Majesty, then actually
 “engaged in a war with the *French* King, who
 “had usurped the entire *Spanish* monarchy for
 “his grandson the Duke of *Anjou*; and for the
 “assisting the States-General, who, by the loss
 “of their barrier against *France*, were then in
 “the same, or a more dangerous condition, than
 “if they were actually invaded. As these were
 “the just and necessary motives for undertaking
 “this war, so the ends proposed to be obtained
 “by it, were equally wise and honourable; for,
 “as they are set forth in the eighth article of
 “the same treaty, they appear to have been, *the*
 “*procuring an equitable and reasonable satisfaction*
 “*to his Imperial Majesty, and sufficient securities*
 “*for the dominions, provinces, navigation, and com-*
 “*merce of the King of Great-Britain, and the*
 “*States-General, and the making effectual provision,*
 “*that the two kingdoms of France and Spain should*
 “*never be united under the same government; and*
 “*particularly, that the French should never get*
 “*into the possession of the Spanish West-Indies, or*
 “*be permitted to sail thither, upon the account of*
 “*traffic, or under any pretence whatsoever:*
 “and lastly, the securing to the subjects of the
 “King of *Great-Britain*, and the States-General,
 “all

“ all the same privileges, and rights of commerce,
“ throughout the whole dominions of *Spain*,
“ as they enjoyed before the death of *Charles* the
“ Second, King of *Spain*, by virtue of any treaty,
“ agreement, or custom, or any other way what-
“ soever. For the obtaining these ends, the
“ three confederated powers engaged to assist one
“ another with their whole force, according to
“ such proportions as should be specified in a
“ particular convention, afterwards to be made
“ for that purpose: we do not find that any
“ such convention was ever ratified; but it ap-
“ pears, that there was an agreement concluded,
“ which, by common consent, was understood to
“ be binding upon each party respectively; and
“ according to which, the proportions of *Great-*
“ *Britain* were from the beginning regulated and
“ founded. The terms of that agreement were,
“ that, for the service at land, his Imperial Ma-
“ jesty should furnish ninety thousand men, the
“ King of *Great-Britain* forty thousand, and the
“ States-General one hundred and two thousand;
“ of which there were forty-two thousand intended
“ to supply their garrisons, and sixty thousand to
“ act against the common enemy in the field:
“ and with regard to the operations of the war
“ at sea, they were agreed to be performed joint-
“ ly by *Great-Britain* and the States-General;
“ the quota of ships to be furnished for that ser-
“ vice being five-eighths on the part of *Great-*
“ *Britain*, and three-eighths on the part of the
“ States-General.

“ Upon.

" Upon this foot, the war began in the year
 " 1702; at which time, the whole yearly ex-
 " pence of it to *England* amounted to three mil-
 " lions seven hundred and six thousand four hun-
 " dred ninety-four pounds; a very great charge,
 " as it was then thought by your Majesty's sub-
 " jects, after the short interval of ease they had
 " enjoyed from the burthen of the former war,
 " but yet a very moderate proportion, in compa-
 " rison with the load which hath since been laid
 " upon them: for it appears, by estimates given
 " in to your commons, that the sums necessary to
 " carry on the service for this present year, in
 " the same maner as it was performed the last
 " year, amount to more than six millions nine
 " hundred and sixty thousand pounds, besides in-
 " tereft for the public debts, and the deficiencies
 " accruing the last year; which two articles re-
 " quire one million one hundred and forty-three
 " thousand pounds more: so that the whole de-
 " mands upon your Commons are arisen to more
 " than eight millions for the present annual sup-
 " ply. We know your Majesty's tender regard for
 " the welfare of your people, will make it uneasy
 " to you to hear of so great a pressure as this upon
 " them; and as we are assured, it will fully con-
 " vince your Majesty of the necessity of our pre-
 " sent inquiry; so we beg leave to represent to
 " you, from what causes, and by what steps, this
 " immense charge appears to have grown upon us.
 " The service at sea, as it has been very large
 " and extensive in itself, so it has been carried
 " on,

“ on, through the whole course of the war, in a
“ manner highly disadvantageous to your Majesty
“ and your kingdom: for, the necessity of affairs
“ requiring that great fleets should be fitted out
“ every year, as well for the maintaining a supe-
“ riority in the *Mediterranean*, as for opposing
“ any force which the enemy might prepare, ei-
“ ther at *Dunkirk*, or in the ports of *West France*,
“ your Majesty’s example and readiness, in fit-
“ ting out your proportion of ships, for all parts
“ of that service, have been so far from prevail-
“ ing with the States-General to keep pace with
“ you, that they have been deficient every year
“ to a great degree, in proportion to what your
“ Majesty hath furnished; sometimes no less
“ than two-thirds, and generally more than half
“ of their quota: from hence, your Majesty has
“ been obliged, for the preventing disappoint-
“ ments in the most pressing service, to supply
“ those deficiencies by additional reinforcements
“ of your own ships; nor hath the single in-
“ crease of such a charge been the only ill conse-
“ quence that attended it; for, by this means,
“ the debt of the navy hath been enhanced, so
“ that the discounts arising upon the credit of it
“ have affected all other parts of the service,
“ from the same cause. Your Majesty’s ships of
“ war have been forced in greater numbers to
“ continue in remote seas, and at unseasonable
“ times of the year, to the great damage and
“ decay of the *British* navy. This also hath been
“ the occasion that your Majesty hath been strait-
“ ened

"ened in your convoys for trade; your coasts
 "have been exposed, for want of a sufficient
 "number of cruizers to guard them; and you
 "have been disabled from annoying the enemy,
 "in their most beneficial commerce with the
 "*West-Indies*, from whence they received those
 "vast supplies of treasure, without which, they
 "could not have supported the expences of this
 "war.

"That part of the war which hath been car-
 "ried on in *Flanders*, was at first immediately
 "necessary to the security of the States-General,
 "and hath since brought them great acquisitions,
 "both of revenue and dominion; yet even there,
 "the original proportions have been departed
 "from, and, during the course of the war, have
 "been sinking, by degrees, on the part of *Hol-*
 "*land*: so that, in this last year, we find the
 "number in which they fell short of their three-
 "fifths, to your Majesty's two-fifths, have been
 "twenty thousand eight hundred and thirty-
 "seven men. We are not unmindful, that in
 "the year 1703, a treaty was made between the
 "two nations, for a joint augmentation of twen-
 "ty thousand men, wherein the proportions were
 "varied, and *England* consented to take half up-
 "on itself. But it having been annexed as an
 "express condition to the grant of the said aug-
 "mentation in parliament, that the States-Ge-
 "neral should prohibit all trade and commerce
 "with *France*; and that condition having not
 "been performed by them, the Commons think it

“ reasonable, that the first rule, of three to two,
“ ought to have taken place again, as well in that,
“ as in other subsequent augmentations; more e-
“ specially when they consider, that the revenues
“ of those rich provinces which have been con-
“ quered, would, if they were duly applied,
“ maintain a great number of new additional
“ forces against the common enemy; notwith-
“ standing which, the States-General have raised
“ none upon that account, but make use of those
“ fresh supplies of money, only to ease themselves
“ in the charge of their first established quota.

“ As in the progress of the war in *Flanders*, a
“ disproportion was soon created to the prejudice
“ of *England*; so the very beginning of the war
“ in *Portugal* brought an unequal share of bur-
“ den upon us; for although the Emperor and
“ and the States-General were equally parties
“ with your Majesty in the treaty with the king
“ of *Portugal*, yet the emperor neither furnishing
“ his third part of the troops and subsidies stipulat-
“ ed for, nor the *Dutch* consenting to take an e-
“ qual share of his Imperial Majesty’s defect upon
“ themselves, your Majesty hath been obliged to
“ furnish two thirds of the entire expence created
“ by that service. Nor has the inequality stop-
“ ped there; for ever since the year 1706, when
“ the *English* and *Dutch* forces marched out of
“ *Portugal* into *Castile*, the States-General have
“ entirely abandoned the war in *Portugal*, and
“ left your Majesty to prosecute it singly at your
“ own charge, which you have accordingly done,
“ by

“ by replacing a greater number of troops there,
 “ than even at first you took upon you to provide.
 “ At the same time, your Majesty’s generous en-
 “ deavours for the support and defence of the
 “ King of *Portugal*, have been but ill seconded by
 “ that Prince himself; for notwithstanding that
 “ by his treaty he had obliged himself to furnish
 “ twelve thousand foot, and three thousand horse,
 “ upon his own account, besides eleven thousand
 “ foot, and two thousand horse more, in confide-
 “ ration of a subsidy paid him; yet, according to
 “ the best information your commons can pro-
 “ cure, it appears, that he hath scarce at any time
 “ furnished thirteen thousand men in the whole.

“ In *Spain* the war hath been yet more une-
 “ qual and burthensome to your Majesty, than in
 “ any other branch of it; for being commenced
 “ without any treaty whatsoever, the allies have
 “ almost wholly declined taking any part of it
 “ upon themselves. A small body of *English* and
 “ *Dutch* troops were sent thither in the year 1705,
 “ not as being thought sufficient to support a re-
 “ gular war, or to make the conquest of so large
 “ a country; but with a view only of assisting the
 “ *Spaniards* to set King *Charles* upon the throne;
 “ occasioned by the great assurances which were
 “ given of their inclinations to the house of *Au-*
 “ *stria*: but this expectation failing, *England* was
 “ insensibly drawn into an established war, under
 “ all the disadvantages of the distance of the place,
 “ and the feeble efforts of the other allies. The
 “ account we have to lay before your Majesty,

“ upon this head, is, that although the under-
“ taking was entered upon at the particular and
“ earnest request of the imperial court, and for a
“ cause of no less importance and concern to
“ them, than the reducing the *Spanish* monarchy
“ to the house of *Austria*; yet neither the late
“ emperors, nor his present imperial Majesty,
“ have ever had any forces there on their account,
“ till the last year; and then, only one regiment
“ of foot, consisting of two thousand men.
“ Though the States-General have contributed
“ something more to this service, yet their share
“ also hath been inconsiderable; for in the space
“ of four years, from 1705 to 1708, both inclu-
“ sive, all the forces they have sent into that
“ country have not exceeded twelve thousand two
“ hundred men; and from the year 1708 to this
“ time, they have not sent any forces or recruits
“ whatsoever. To your Majesty’s care and charge,
“ the recovery of that kingdom hath been in a
“ manner wholly left, as if none else were interest-
“ ed or concerned in it. And the forces which your
“ Majesty hath sent into *Spain*, in the space of
“ seven years, from 1705 to 1711, both inclu-
“ sive, have amounted to no less than fifty-seven
“ thousand nine hundred and seventy-three men,
“ besides thirteen battalions and eight squadrons,
“ for which your Majesty hath paid a subsidy to
“ the Emperor.”

“ How great the established expence of a num-
“ ber of men hath been, your Majesty very well
“ knows, and your commons very sensibly feel;
“ but

“ but the weight will be found much greater,
 “ when it is considered how many heavy articles
 “ of unusual and extraordinary charge have at-
 “ tended this remote and difficult service, all
 “ which have been entirely defrayed by your Ma-
 “ jesty, except that one of transporting the few
 “ forces, which were sent by the States-General,
 “ and the victualling of them, during their trans-
 “ portation only. — The account delivered to
 “ your commons shew, that the charge of your
 “ Majesty’s ships and vessels, employed in the
 “ service of the war in *Spain* and *Portugal*, rec-
 “ koned after the rate of four pounds a man *per*
 “ month, from the time they sailed from hence,
 “ till they returned, were lost, or put upon other
 “ services, hath amounted to six millions five
 “ hundred forty thousand nine hundred and sixty-
 “ six pounds fourteen shillings: the charge of
 “ transports on the part of *Great-Britain*, for
 “ carrying on the war in *Spain* and *Portugal*,
 “ from the beginning of it till this time, hath a-
 “ mounted to one million three hundred thirty-
 “ six thousand seven hundred and nineteen pounds
 “ nineteen shillings and eleven pence; that of
 “ victualling land-forces for the same service, to
 “ five hundred eighty-three thousand seven hun-
 “ dred and seventy pounds eight shillings and
 “ sixpence; and that of contingencies, and other
 “ extraordinaries for the same service, to one
 “ million eight hundred forty thousand three
 “ hundred and fifty-three pounds.

“ We should take notice to your Majesty of

“ several sums paid upon account of contingen-
“ cies, and extraordinaries in *Flanders*, making
“ together the sum of one million one hun-
“ dred seven thousand and ninety-six pounds :
“ but we are not able to make any comparison of
“ them, with what the States-General have ex-
“ pended upon the same head, having no such
“ state of their extraordinary charge before us.
“ There remains therefore but one particular
“ more for your Majesty’s observation, which a-
“ rises from the subsidies paid to foreign princes.
“ These, at the beginning of the war, were borne,
“ in equal proportion, by your Majesty and the
“ States-General; but in this instance also, the
“ balance hath been cast in prejudice of your
“ Majesty : for it appears that your Majesty hath
“ since advanced more than your equal propor-
“ tion, three millions one hundred and fifty-five
“ thousand crowns, besides extraordinaries paid
“ in *Italy*, and not included in any of the forego-
“ ing articles, which arise to five hundred thirty-
“ nine thousand five hundred and fifty-three
“ pounds.

“ We have laid these several particulars before
“ your Majesty in the shortest manner we have
“ been able ; and by an estimate grounded on
“ the preceding facts, it doth appear, that over
“ and above the quotas on the part of *Great-Bri-*
“ *tain*, answering to those contributed by your al-
“ lies, more than nineteen millions have been
“ expended by your Majesty, during the course
“ of this war, by way of surplussage, or exceed-
“ ing

“ing in balance, of which none of the confede-
 “rates have furnished any thing whatsoever.

“It is with very great concern, that we find so
 “much occasion given us, to represent how ill an
 “use hath been made of your Majesty’s and your
 “subjects zeal for the common cause; that the
 “interest of that cause hath not been proportion-
 “ably promoted by it, but others only have been
 “eased at your Majesty’s and your subjects cost,
 “and have been connived at, in laying their part
 “of the burden upon this kingdom, although
 “they have upon all accounts been equally, and,
 “in most respects, much more nearly concerned
 “than *Britain* in the issue of the war. We are
 “persuaded your Majesty will think it pardonable
 “in us, with some resentment to complain of the
 “little regard, which some of those, whom your
 “Majesty of late years entrusted, have shewn to
 “the interests of their country, in giving way,
 “at least, to such unreasonable impositions upon
 “it, if not in some measure contriving them.
 “The course of which impositions hath been so
 “singular and extraordinary, that the more the
 “wealth of this nation hath been exhausted, and
 “the more your Majesty’s arms have been attend-
 “ed with success, the heavier hath been the
 “burthen laid upon us; whilst, on the other hand,
 “the more vigorous your Majesty’s efforts have
 “been, and the greater the advantages which
 “have redounded thence to your allies, the more
 “those allies have abated in their share of the
 “expence.

“At

“ At the first entrance into this war, the commons were induced to exert themselves in the extraordinary manner they did, and to grant such large supplies, as had been unknown to former ages, in hopes thereby to prevent the mischiefs of a lingering war, and to bring that, in which they were necessarily engaged, to a speedy conclusion; but they have been very unhappy in the event, whilst they have so much reason to suspect, that what was intended to shorten the war, hath proved the very cause of its long continuance; for those to whom the profits of it have accrued, have not been disposed easily to forego them. And your Majesty will from thence discern *the true reason, why so many have delighted in a war, which brought in so rich an harvest yearly from Great Britain.*

“ We are far from desiring, as we know your Majesty will be from concluding any peace, but upon safe and honourable terms; and we are far from intending to excuse ourselves from raising all necessary and possible supplies for an effectual prosecution of the war, till such a peace can be obtained: all that your faithful commons aim at, all that they wish, is an equal concurrence from the other powers, engaged in alliance with your Majesty; and a just application of what hath been already gained from the enemy, towards promoting the common cause. Several large countries and territories have been restored to the house of Austria, such as the kingdom of Naples, the dutchy
“ of

“ of *Milan*, and other places in *Italy*; others
 “ have been conquered, and added to their domi-
 “ nions, as the two electorates of *Bavaria* and
 “ *Cologne*, the dutchy of *Mantua*, and the bishopric
 “ of *Liege*; these, having been reduced in great
 “ measure by our blood and treasure, may, we
 “ humbly conceive, with great reason, be claimed
 “ to come in aid towards carrying on the war in
 “ *Spain*. And therefore we make it our earnest
 “ request to your Majesty, that you will give in-
 “ structions to your ministers, to insist with the
 “ Emperor, that the revenues of those several
 “ places, excepting only such a portion thereof
 “ as is necessary for their defence, be actually so
 “ applied; and as to the other parts of the war,
 “ to which your Majesty hath obliged yourself by
 “ particular treaties to contribute, we humbly
 “ beseech your Majesty, that you will be pleased
 “ to take effectual care, that your allies do per-
 “ form their parts stipulated by those treaties;
 “ and that your Majesty will, for the future, no
 “ otherwise furnish troops, or pay subsidies, than
 “ in proportion to what your allies shall actually
 “ furnish and pay: when this justice is done to
 “ your Majesty, and to your people, there is no-
 “ thing which your commons will not chearfully
 “ grant, towards supporting your Majesty in the
 “ cause in which you are engaged. And what-
 “ ever farther shall appear to be necessary for
 “ carrying on the war, either at sea or land, we
 “ will effectually enable your Majesty to bear
 “ your reasonable share of any such expence, and
 “ will

“ will spare no supplies which your subjects are
“ able, with their utmost efforts, to afford.

“ After having enquired into, and considered
“ the state of the war, in which the part your
“ Majesty has borne, appears to have been, not
“ only superior to that of any one ally, but even
“ equal to that of the whole confederacy; your
“ commons naturally inclined to hope, that they
“ should find, care had been taken of securing
“ some particular advantages to *Britain*, in the
“ terms of a future peace; such as might afford
“ a prospect of making the nation amends, in
“ time, for that immense treasure which has
“ been expended, and those heavy debts which
“ have been contracted, in the course of so long
“ and burthensome a war. This reasonable ex-
“ pectation could no way have been better an-
“ swered, than by some provision made for the
“ further security, and the great improvement of
“ the commerce of *Great-Britain*; but we find
“ ourselves so very far disappointed in these hopes,
“ that in a treaty not long since concluded be-
“ tween your Majesty and the States-General,
“ under a colour of mutual guarantee, given for
“ two points of the greatest importance to both
“ nations, the succession, and the barrier; it ap-
“ pears, the interest of *Great-Britain* hath been
“ not only neglected, but sacrificed; and that se-
“ veral articles in the said treaty, are destructive
“ to the trade and welfare of this kingdom, and
“ therefore highly dishonourable to your Majesty.
“ Your commons observe, in the first place,
“ that

" that several towns and places are, by virtue of
 " this treaty, to be put into the hands of the
 " States-General, particularly *Newport, Dender-*
 " *mond*, and the castle of *Ghent*, which can in no
 " sense be looked upon as a part of a barrier a-
 " gainst *France*, but, being the keys of the *Ne-*
 " *therlands* towards *Britain*, must make the trade
 " of your Majesty's subjects in those parts preca-
 " rious, and, whenever the States think fit, totally
 " exclude them from it. The pretended necessity
 " of putting these places into the hands of the
 " States-General, in order to secure to them a
 " communication with their barrier, must ap-
 " pear vain and groundless; for the sovereignty
 " of the *Low Countries* being not to remain to
 " an enemy, but to a friend and an ally, that
 " communication must be always secure and un-
 " interrupted; besides that, in case of a rupture,
 " or an attack, the states have full liberty allow-
 " ed them to take possession of all the *Spanish Ne-*
 " *therlands*, and therefore needed no particular
 " stipulation for the towns above-mentioned.

" Having taken notice of this concession made
 " to the States-General for seizing upon the
 " whole ten provinces, we cannot but observe to
 " your Majesty, that in the manner this article is
 " framed, it is another dangerous circumstance
 " which attends this treaty; for had such a pro-
 " vision been confined to the care of an apparent
 " attack from *France* only, the avowed design of
 " this treaty had been fulfilled, and your Ma-
 " jesty's instructions to your ambassador had
 " been

“ been pursued : but this necessary restriction
“ hath been omitted, and the same liberty is
“ granted to the States, to take possession of all
“ the *Netherlands*, whenever they shall think
“ themselves attacked by any other neighbouring
“ nation, as when they shall be in danger from
“ *France* ; so that if it should at any time hap-
“ pen (which your commons are very unwilling
“ to suppose) that they should quarrel, even with
“ your Majesty, the riches, strength, and advan-
“ tageous situation of these countries, may be
“ made use of against yourself, without whose
“ generous and powerful assistance they had ne-
“ ver been conquered.

“ To return to those ill consequences which re-
“ late to the trade of your kingdoms, we beg
“ leave to observe to your Majesty, that though
“ this treaty revives, and renders your Majesty a
“ party to the fourteenth and fifteenth articles of
“ the treaty of *Munster*, by virtue of which, the
“ impositions upon all goods and merchandizes
“ brought into the *Spanish* low countries by the
“ sea, are to equal those laid on goods and
“ merchandizes imported by the *Scheld*, and the
“ canals of *Safs* and *Swynn*, and other mouths
“ of the sea adjoining ; yet no care is taken to
“ preserve that equality upon the exportation of
“ those goods out of the *Spanish* provinces, into
“ those countries and places, which, by virtue of
“ this treaty, are to be in possession of the States ;
“ the consequence of which must in time be,
“ and your commons are informed, that, in some
“ instances,

“ instances, it has already proved to be the case,
 “ that the impositions upon goods carried into
 “ those countries and places, by the subjects of
 “ the States-General, will be taken off, while
 “ those upon the goods imported by your Ma-
 “ jesty’s subjects, remain: by which means,
 “ *Great-Britain* will entirely lose this most bene-
 “ ficial branch of trade, which it has in all ages
 “ been possessed of, even from the time when
 “ those countries were governed by the house of
 “ *Burgundy*, one of the most ancient, as well as
 “ the most useful allies to the crown of *England*.

“ With regard to the other dominions and
 “ territories of *Spain*, your Majesty’s subjects have
 “ always been distinguished in their commerce
 “ with them, and both by ancient treaties, and
 “ an uninterrupted custom, have enjoyed greater
 “ privileges and immunities of trade, than either
 “ the *Hollanders*, or any other nation whatsoever.
 “ And that wise and excellent treaty of the
 “ grand alliance, provides effectually for the se-
 “ curity and continuance of these valuable privi-
 “ leges to *Britain*, in such a manner, as that each
 “ nation might be left, at the end of the war, up-
 “ on the same foot as it stood at the commence-
 “ ment of it: but this treaty we now complain
 “ of, instead of confirming your subjects rights,
 “ surrenders and destroys them: for although by
 “ the sixteenth and seventeenth articles of the
 “ treaty of *Munster*, made between his Catholic
 “ Majesty and the States General, all advantages
 “ of trade are stipulated for, and granted to the

“ *Hollanders*, equal to what the *English* enjoyed ;
“ yet the crown of *England* not being a party to
“ that treaty, the subjects of *England* have never
“ submitted to those articles of it, nor even the
“ *Spaniards* themselves ever observed them ; but
“ this treaty revives those articles in prejudice of
“ *Great-Britain*, and makes your Majesty a party
“ to them, and even a guarantee to the States-
“ General, for privileges against your own people.
“ In how deliberate and extraordinary a man-
“ ner your Majesty’s ambassador consented to de-
“ prive your subjects of their ancient rights, and
“ your Majesty of the power of procuring to them
“ any new advantage, most evidently appears from
“ his own letters, which, by your Majesty’s direc-
“ tions, have been laid before your Commons :
“ for when matters of advantage to your Majesty,
“ and to your kingdom, had been offered, as pro-
“ per to be made parts of this treaty, they were
“ refused to be admitted by the States-General,
“ upon this reason and principle, that nothing
“ foreign to the guarantees of the succession, and
“ of the barrier, should be mingled with them ;
“ notwithstanding which, the States-General
“ had no sooner received notice of a treaty of
“ commerce concluded between your Majesty and
“ and the present Emperor, but they departed
“ from the rule proposed before, and insisted up-
“ on the article of which your commons now com-
“ plain ; which article your Majesty’s ambassador
“ allowed of, although equally foreign to the suc-
“ cession or the barrier, and although he had for that
“ reason

“ reason departed from other articles, which would
 “ have been for the service of his own country.”

“ We have forborne to trouble your Majesty
 “ with general observations upon this treaty, as
 “ it relates to and affects the empire, and other
 “ parts of *Europe*. The mischiefs which arise
 “ from it to *Great-Britain*, are what only we
 “ have presumed humbly to represent to you, as
 “ they are very evident, and very great: and as
 “ it appears, that the Lord Viscount *Townsend*
 “ had not any orders, or authority, for conclud-
 “ ing several of those articles, which are most
 “ prejudicial to your Majesty’s subjects; we have
 “ thought we could do no less than declare your
 “ said ambassador, who negotiated and signed, and
 “ all others who advised the ratifying of this treaty,
 “ enemies to your Majesty and your kingdom.”

“ Upon these faithful informations, and ad-
 “ vices from your Commons, we assure ourselves
 “ your Majesty, in your great goodness to your
 “ people, will rescue them from those evils, which
 “ the private counsels of ill designing men have
 “ exposed them to; and that in your great wis-
 “ dom you will find some means for the explain-
 “ ing and amending the several articles of this
 “ treaty, so as that they may consist with the in-
 “ terest of *Great-Britain*, and with real and last-
 “ ing friendship between your Majesty and the
 “ States-General.”

Between the representation and the first debates
 upon the subject of it, several weeks had passed;
 during which time the parliament had other mat-

ters likewise before them, that deserve to be mentioned. For on the ninth of *February* was repealed the act for naturalizing foreign protestants, which had been passed under the last ministry, and, as many people thought, to very ill purposes. By this act any foreigner who would take the oaths to the government, and profess himself a protestant of whatever denomination, was immediately naturalized, and had all the privileges of an *English*-born subject, at the expence of a shilling. Most protestants abroad differ from us in the points of church-government; so that all the acquisitions by this act would increase the number of dissenters; and therefore the proposal, that such foreigners should be obliged to conform to the established worship, was rejected. But because several persons were fond of this project, as a thing that would be of mighty advantage to the kingdom, I shall say a few words upon it.

The maxim, "That people are the riches of a nation," hath been crudely understood by many writers and reasoners upon that subject. There are several ways by which people are brought into a country. Sometimes a nation is invaded and subdued; and the conquerors seize the lands, and make the natives their under-tenants or servants. Colonies have been always planted where the natives were driven out or destroyed, or the land uncultivated and waste. In those countries, where the lord of the soil is master of the labour and liberty of his tenants, or of slaves bought by his money, mens riches are reckoned by the num-

ber

ber of their vassals. And sometimes, in governments newly instituted, where there are not people to till the ground, many laws have been made to encourage and allure numbers from the neighbouring countries. And, in all these cases, the newcomers have either lands allotted them, or are slaves to the proprietors. But to invite helpless families, by thousands, into a kingdom inhabited like ours, without lands to give them, and where the laws will not allow that they should be part of the property, as servants, is a wrong application of the maxim, and the same thing, in great, as infants dropped at the doors, which are only a burthen and charge to the parish. The true way of multiplying mankind to public advantage, in such a country as *England*, is to invite from abroad only able handicraftsmen and artificers, or such who bring over a sufficient share of property to secure them from want; to enact and enforce sumptuary laws against luxury, and all excesses in cloathing, furniture, and the like; to encourage matrimony, and reward, as the *Romans* did, those who have a certain number of children. Whether bringing over the *Palatines* were a mere consequence of this law for a general naturalization; or whether, as many surmised, it had some other meaning, it appeared manifestly, by the issue, that the public was a loser by every individual among them; and that a kingdom can no more be the richer by such an importation, than a man can be fatter by a wen, which is unsightly and troublesome, at best, and intercepts that nourish-

ment, which would otherwise diffuse itself through the whole body.

About a fortnight after, the commons sent up a bill for securing the freedom of parliaments, by limiting the number of members in that house, who should be allowed to possess employments under the crown. Bills to the same effect, promoted by both parties, had, after making the like progress, been rejected in former parliaments; the court and ministry, who will ever be against such a law, having usually a greater influence in the house of lords, and so it happened now. Although that influence were less, I am apt to think that such a law would be too thorough a reformation in one point, while we have so many corruptions in the rest; and perhaps the regulations, already made on that article, are sufficient, by which several employments incapacitate a man from being chosen a member, and all of them bring it to a new election.

For my own part, when I consider the temper of particular persons, and by what maxims they have acted (almost without exception) in their private capacities, I cannot conceive how such a bill should obtain a majority, unless every man expected to be one of the fifty, which, I think, was the limitation intended.

About the same time, likewise, the house of commons advanced one considerable step towards securing us against farther impositions from our allies, resolving that the additional forces should be continued; but with a condition, that the *Dutch* should

should make good their proportion of three fifths to two fifths, which those confederates had so long, and in so great degree neglected. The Duke of *Marlborough's* deduction of two and a half *per cent.* from the pay of the foreign troops, was also applied for carrying on the war.

Lastly, within this period is to be included the act passed to prevent the disturbing those of the episcopal communion in *Scotland* in the exercise of their religious worship, and in the use of the liturgy of the church of *England*. It is known enough, that the most considerable of the nobility and gentry there, as well as great numbers of the people, dread the tyrannical discipline of those synods and presbyteries; and at the same time have the utmost contempt for the abilities and tenets of their teachers. It was besides thought an inequality, beyond all appearance of reason or justice, that dissenters of every denomination here, who are the meanest and most illiterate part amongst us, should possess a toleration by law, under colour of which they might, upon occasion, be bold enough to insult the religion established, while those of the episcopal church in *Scotland* groaned under a real persecution. The only specious objection against this bill was, that it set the religion by law, in both parts of the island, upon a different foot, directly contrary to the union; because, by an act passed this very session against occasional conformity, our dissenters were shut out from all employments. A petition from *Carstairs*, and other *Scotch* professors, against this bill,

bill, was offered to the house, but not accepted; and a motion made by the other party, to receive a clause, that should restrain all persons, who have any office in *Scotland*, from going to episcopal meetings, passed in the negative. It is manifest, that the promoters of this clause were not moved by any regard for *Scotland*, which is by no means their favourite at present; only they hoped, that, if it were made part of a law, it might occasion such a choice of representatives in both houses, from *Scotland*, as would be a considerable strength to their faction here. But the proposition was in itself extremely absurd, that so many lords, and other persons of distinction, who have great employments, pensions, posts in the army, and other places of profit, many of whom are in frequent or constant attendance at court, and utterly dislike their national way of worship, should be deprived of their liberty of conscience at home; not to mention those who are sent thither from hence to take care of the revenue, and other affairs, who would ill digest the changing of their religion for that of *Scotland*.

With a farther view of favour towards the episcopal clergy of *Scotland*, three members of that country were directed to bring in a bill for restoring the patrons to their ancient rights of presenting ministers to the vacant churches there, which the Kirk, during the height of their power, had obtained for themselves. And, to conclude this subject at once, the Queen, at the close of the session, commanded Mr. Secretary *St. John* to acquaint

quaint the house, "That, pursuant to their address, the profits arising from the bishops estates in *Scotland*, which remained in the crown, should be applied to the support of such of the episcopal clergy there, as would take the oaths to her Majesty."

Nothing could more amply justify the proceedings of the Queen and her ministers, for two years past, than that famous representation above at large recited; the unbiaſſed wisdom of the nation, after the strictest inquiry, confirming those facts upon which her Majesty's counsels were grounded: and many persons, who were before inclined to believe, that the Allies and the late ministry had been too much loaded by the malice, misrepresentations, or ignorance, of writers, were now fully convinced of their mistake by so great an authority. Upon this occasion I cannot forbear doing justice to Mr. *St. John*, who had been secretary of war, for several years, under the former administration, where he had the advantage of observing how affairs were managed both at home and abroad. He was one of those who shared in the present treasurer's fortune, resigning his employment at the same time; and upon that minister's being again taken into favour, this gentleman was some time after made secretary of state. There he began afresh, by the opportunities of his station, to look into past miscarriages; and, by the force of an extraordinary genius, and application to public affairs, joined with an invincible eloquence, laid open the scene of miscarriages and corruptions through the whole course

of

of the war, in so evident a manner, that the House of Commons seemed principally directed in their resolutions, upon this inquiry, by his information and advice. In a short time after the representation was published, there appeared a memorial in the *Dutch Gazette*, as by order of the States, reflecting very much upon the said representation, as well as the resolutions on which it was founded, pretending to deny some of the facts, and extenuate others. This memorial, translated into *English*, a common writer of news had the boldness to insert in one of his papers. A complaint being made thereof to the House of Commons, they voted the pretended memorial to be a false, scandalous malicious libel, and ordered the printer to be taken into custody.

It was the misfortune of the ministers, that while they were baited by their professed adversaries of the discontented faction, acting in confederacy with emissaries of foreign powers, to break the measures her Majesty had taken towards a peace, they met at the same time with frequent difficulties from those who agreed and engaged with them to pursue the same general end; but sometimes disapproved the methods as too slack and remiss, or, in appearance, now and then perhaps a little dubious. In the first session of this parliament, a considerable number of gentlemen, all members of the House of Commons, began to meet by themselves, and consult what course they ought to steer in this new world. They intended to revive a new country-party

party in parliament, which might, as in former times, oppose the court in any proceedings they disliked. The whole body was of such who profess what is commonly called High-church principles, upon which account they were irreconcilable enemies to the late ministry and all its adherents. On the other side, considering the temper of the new men in power, that they were persons who had formerly moved between the two extremes, those gentlemen, who were impatient for an entire change, and to see all their adversaries laid at once as low as the dust, began to be apprehensive that the work would be done by halves. But the juncture of affairs at that time, both at home and abroad, would by no means admit of the least precipitation, although the queen and her first minister had been disposed to it, which certainly they were not. Neither did the court seem at all uneasy at this league, formed in appearance against it, but composed of honest gentlemen who wished well to their country, in which both were entirely agreed, although they might differ about the means: or, if such a society should begin to grow resty, nothing was easier than to divide them, and render all their endeavours ineffectual.

But in the course of that first session, many of this society became gradually reconciled to the new ministry, whom they found to be greater objects of the common enemy's hatred than themselves; and the attempt of *Guiscard*, as it gained farther time for the deferring the disposal of employments,

ployments, so it much endeared that person to the kingdom, who was so near falling a sacrifice to the safety of his country. Upon the last session of which I am now writing, this *October* club (as it was called) renewed their usual meetings, but were now very much altered from their original institution, and seemed to have wholly dropped the design, as of no further use. They saw a point carried in the House of Lords against the court, that would end in the ruin of the kingdom; and they observed the enemy's whole artillery directly levelled at the treasurer's head. In short, the majority of the club had so good an understanding with the great men at court, that two of the latter, to shew to the world how fair a correspondence there was between the court and country-party, consented to be at one of their dinners; but this intercourse had an event very different from what was expected: for immediately the more zealous members of that society broke off from the rest, and composed a new one, made up of gentlemen, who seemed to expect little of the court; and perhaps, with a mixture of others who thought themselves disappointed, or too long delayed. Many of these were observed to retain an incurable jealousy of the treasurer, and to interpret all delays, which they could not comprehend, as a reserve of favour in this minister to the persons and principles of the abandoned party.

Upon an occasion offered about this time, some persons, out of distrust to the treasurer, endeavoured

deavoured to obtain a point, which could not have been carried without putting all into confusion. A bill was brought into the House of Commons, appointing commissioners to examine into the value of all lands, and other interests granted by the crown since the thirteenth day of *February*, 1688, and upon what consideration such grants had been made. The united country-interest in the house was extremely set upon passing this bill. They had conceived an opinion, from former precedents, that the court would certainly oppose all steps towards a resumption of grants; and those, who were apprehensive that the treasurer inclined the same way, proposed the bill should be tacked to another, for raising a fund by duties upon soap and paper, which hath been always imputed, whether justly or no, as a favourite expedient of those called the Tory party. At the same time it was very well known, that the House of Lords had made a fixed and unanimous resolution against giving their concurrence to the passing such united bills: so that the consequences of this project must have been, to bring the ministry under difficulties, to stop the necessary supplies, and endanger the good correspondence between both houses; notwithstanding all which the majority carried it for a tack; and the committee was instructed accordingly to make the two bills into one, whereby the worst that could happen would have followed, if the treasurer had not convinced the warm leaders in this affair, by undeniable reasons, that the

means they were using would certainly disappoint the end: that neither himself, nor any other of the Queen's servants, were at all against this enquiry; and he promised his utmost credit to help forward the bill in the House of Lords. He prevailed at last to have it sent up single; but their lordships gave it another kind of reception. Those who were of the side opposite to the court, withstood it to a man, as in a party-case: among the rest, some very personally concerned, and others by friends and relations, which they supposed a sufficient excuse to be absent, or dissent. Even those, whose grants were antecedent to this intended inspection, began to be alarmed as men whose neighbours houses are on fire. A shew of zeal for the late king's honour, occasioned many reflections upon the date of this enquiry, which was to commence with his reign: and the Earl of *Nottingham*, who had now flung away the mask which he lately pulled off, like one who had no other view but that of vengeance against the Queen and her friends, acted consistently enough with his design, by voting as a Lord against the bill, after he had directed his son in the House of Commons to vote for the tack.

Thus miscarried this popular bill for appointing commissioners to examine into royal grants; but whether those chiefly concerned did rightly consult their own interest, hath been made a question, which, perhaps, time will resolve. It was agreed, that the Queen, by her own authority, might have issued out a commission for such

an inquiry; and every body believed, that the intention of the parliament was only to tax the grants with about three years purchase, and at the same time establish the proprietors in possession of the remainder for ever: so that, upon the whole, the grantees would have been great gainers by such an act, since the titles of those lands, as they stood then, were hardly of half value with others, either for sale or settlement. Besides, the examples of the *Irish* forfeitures might have taught these precarious owners, that when the House of Commons hath once engaged in a pursuit, which they think is right, although it be stopped or suspended for a while, they will be sure to renew it upon every opportunity that offers, and seldom fail of success: For instance, if the resumption should happen to be made part of a supply, which can be easily done, without the objection of a tack, the grantees might possibly then have much harder conditions given them; and I do not see how they could prevent it. Whether the resuming of royal grants be consistent with good policy or justice, would be too long a disquisition. Besides, the profusion of kings is not like to be a grievance for the future, because there have been laws since made to provide against that evil; or, indeed, rather because the crown has nothing left to give away. But the objection made against the date of the intended enquiry, was invidious and trifling; for King *James II.* made very few grants: he was a better manager; and squandering was none of

his faults: whereas, the late King, who came over here a perfect stranger to our laws, and our people, regardless of posterity, wherein he was not likely to survive, thought he could no way better strengthen a new title, than by purchasing friends at the expence of every thing which was in his power to part with.

The reasonableness of uniting to a money-bill one of a different nature, which is usually called tacking, hath been likewise much debated, and will admit of argument enough. In ancient times, when a parliament was held, the Commons first proposed their grievances to be redressed, and then gave their aids; so that it was a perfect bargain between the King and the subject. This fully answered the ends of tacking. Aids were then demanded upon occasions which would hardly pass at present: such, for instance, as those for making the King's son a knight, marrying his eldest daughter, and some others of the like sort. Most of the money went into the King's coffers for his private use; neither was he accountable for any part of it. Hence arose the form of the King's thanking his subjects for their benevolence, when any subsidies, tenths, or fifteenths, were given him. But the supplies now granted, are of another nature, and cannot be properly called a particular benefit to the crown, because they are all appropriated to their several uses: so that, when the House of Commons tack to a money-bill what is foreign and hard to be digested, if it be not passed, they put themselves
and

and their country in as great difficulties as the prince. On the other side, there have been several regulations made, through the course of time, in parliamentary proceedings; among which it is grown a rule, that a bill once rejected shall not be brought up again the same session; whereby the Commons seem to have lost the advantage of purchasing a redress of their grievances, by granting supplies; which, upon some emergencies, hath put them upon this expedient of tacking: so that there is more to be said on each side of the case, than is convenient for me to trouble the reader or myself in deducing.

Among the matters of importance during this session, we may justly number the proceedings of the House of Commons with relation to the press, since her Majesty's message to the house, of *January* the 17th, concludes with a paragraph, representing the great licences taken in publishing false and scandalous libels, such as are a reproach to any government; and recommending to them to find a remedy equal to the mischief. The meaning of these words, in the message, seems to be confined to these weekly and daily papers and pamphlets, reflecting upon the persons and the management of the ministry. But the House of Commons, in their address, which answers this message, makes an addition of the blasphemies against God and religion; and it is certain, that nothing would be more for the honour of the legislature, than some effectual law for putting a stop to this universal mischief: but, as the per-

son * who advised the Queen in that part of her message, had only then in his thoughts the redressing of the political and factious libels, I think he ought to have taken care, by his great credit in the house, to have proposed some ways by which that evil might be removed; the law for taxing single papers having produced a quite contrary effect, as was then foreseen by many persons, and hath since been found true by experience. For the adverse party, full of rage and leisure since their fall, and unanimous in defence of their cause, employ a set of writers by subscription, who are well versed in all the topics of defamation, and have a style and genius levelled to the generality of readers: while those who would draw their pens on the side of their prince and country, are discouraged by this tax, which exceeds the intrinsic value both of the materials and the work; a thing, if I be not mistaken, without example.

It must be acknowledged, that the bad practices of printers have been such, as to deserve the severest animadversions of the public; and it is to be wished, the party-quarrels of the pen were always managed with decency and truth: but in the mean time, to open the mouths of our enemies, and shut our own, is a turn of politics that wants a little to be explained. Perhaps, the ministry now in possession, because they are in possession, may despise such trifles as this; and it is not to be denied, that acting as they do, upon a
national

* Mr. Secretary St. John, now Lord Viscount Bolingbroke.

national interest, they may seem to stand in less need of such supports, or may safely fling them down, as no longer necessary. But if the leaders of the other party had proceeded by this maxim, their power would have been none at all, or of very short duration: and had not some active pens fallen in, to improve the good dispositions of the people, upon the late change, and continued since to overthrow the falsehood, plentifully, and sometimes not unplaussibly, scattered by the adversaries, I am very much in doubt, whether those at the helm would now have reason to be pleased with their success. A particular person may, with more safety, despise the opinion of the vulgar, because it does a wise man no real harm or good, but the administration a great deal; and whatever side has the sole management of the pen, will soon find hands enough to write down their enemies as low as they please. If the people had no other idea of those whom her Majesty trusts in her greatest affairs, than what is conveyed by the passions of such as would compass sea and land for their destruction, what could they expect, but to be torn in pieces by the rage of the multitude? How necessary therefore was it, that the world should, from time to time, be undeceived, by true representations of persons and facts, which have kept the kingdom steady to its interest, against all the attacks of a cunning and virulent faction!

However, the mischiefs of the press were too exorbitant to be cured, by such a remedy, as a tax
upon

upon the smaller papers; and a bill for a much more effectual regulation of it, was brought into the house of commons, but so late in the session, that there was no time to pass it; for there hath hitherto always appeared an unwillingness to cramp overmuch the liberty of the press, whether from the inconveniencies apprehended from doing too much, or too little; or whether the benefit proposed by each party to themselves, from the service of their writers, towards recovering or preserving of power, be thought to outweigh the disadvantages. However it came about, this affair was put off from one week to another, and the bill not brought into the house till the eighth of *June*. It was committed three days, and then heard of no more. In this bill there was a clause inserted, (whether industriously, with design to overthrow it) that the author's name, and place of abode, should be set to every printed book, pamphlet, or paper; which I believe no man, who hath the least regard to learning, would give his consent to; for, besides the objection to this clause, from the practice of pious men, who, in publishing excellent writings, for the service of religion, have chosen, out of an humble Christian spirit, to conceal their names, it is certain, that all persons of true genius or knowledge, have an invincible modesty and suspicion of themselves, upon their first sending their thoughts into the world, and that those who are dull or superficial, void of all taste and judgment, have dispositions directly contrary; so that if this clause had made
part

FOUR LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 153

part of a law, there would have been an end, in all likelihood, of any valuable production for the future, either in wit or learning; and that insufferable race of stupid people, who are now every day loading the press, would then reign alone, in time destroy our very first principles of reason, and introduce barbarity amongst us, which is already kept out with so much difficulty, by so few hands.

Having given an account of the several steps made towards a peace, from the first overtures begun by *France*, to the commencement of the second session, I shall, in the fourth book, relate the particulars of this great negociation, from the period last mentioned, to the present time; and because there happened some passages in both houses, occasioned by the treaty, I shall take notice of them under that head. There only remains to be mentioned one affair of another nature, which the lords and commons took into their cognizance, after a very different manner, wherewith I shall close this part of my subject.

The sect of Quakers amongst us, whose system of religion, first founded upon enthusiasm, hath been many years growing into a craft, held it an unlawful action to take an oath to a magistrate. This doctrine was taught them by the author of their sect, from a literal application of the text, *Swear not at all*; but being a body of people, wholly turned to trade and commerce of all kinds, they found themselves on many occasions deprived of the benefit of the law, as well as of voting

at elections, by a foolish scruple, which their obstinacy would not suffer them to get over. To prevent this inconvenience, these people had credit enough in the late reign, to have an act passed, that their solemn affirmation and declaration should be accepted, instead of an oath in the usual form. The great concern in those times, was to lay all religion upon a level; in order to which, this maxim was advanced, that no man ought to be denied the liberty of serving his country, upon account of a different belief in speculative opinions, under which term people were apt to include every doctrine of Christianity: however, this act, in favour of the Quakers, was only temporary, in order to keep them in constant dependence, and expired, of course, after a certain term, if it were not continued. Those people had, therefore, very early in the session, offered a petition to the house of commons, for a continuance of the act, which was not suffered to be brought up; upon this, they applied themselves to the Lords, who passed a bill accordingly, and sent it down to the commons, where it was not so much as allowed a first reading.

And, indeed, it is not easy to conceive, upon what motives the legislature of so great a kingdom could descend so low, as to be ministerial and subservient to the caprices of the most absurd heresy that ever appeared in the world; and this in a point, where those deluding or deluded people stand singular from all the rest of mankind, who live under civil government; but the designs
of

of an aspiring party, at that time, were not otherwise to be compassed, than by undertaking any thing that would humble and mortify the church; and I am fully convinced, that if a sect of sceptic philosophers (who profess to doubt of every thing) had been then among us, and mingled their tenets with some corruptions of Christianity, they might have obtained the same privilege; and that a law would have been enacted, whereby the solemn doubt of the people called sceptics, should have been accepted, instead of an oath in the usual form; so absurd are all maxims formed upon the inconsistent principles of faction, when once they are brought to be examined by the standard of truth and reason.

B O O K IV.

WE left the plenipotentiaries of the Allies, and those of the enemy, preparing to assemble at *Utrecht*, on the first of *January*, N. S. in order to form a congress for negotiating a general peace, wherein, although the *Dutch* had made a mighty merit of their compliance with the Queen, yet they set all their instruments at work, to inflame both houses against her Majesty's measures. *Monf. Bothmar*, the *Hanover* envoy, took care to print and disperse his memorial, of which I have formerly spoken: *Hoffman*, the Emperor's resident, was soliciting for a yacht and convoys to bring over Prince *Eugene* at this juncture, fortified, as it was given out, with great proposals from

from the imperial court : the Earl of *Nottingham* became a convert, for reasons already mentioned ; money was distributed where occasion required ; and the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Marlborough*, together with the Earl of *Godolphin*, had put themselves at the head of the junto, and their adherents, in order to attack the court.

Some days after, the vote passed the house of lords, for admitting into the address the Earl of *Nottingham's* clause, against any peace without *Spain*. *Monf. Buys*, the *Dutch* envoy, who had been deep in all the consultations with the discontented party for carrying that point, was desired to meet with the Lord privy-seal, the Earl of *Dartmouth*, and Mr. Secretary *St. John*, in order to sign a treaty between the Queen and the States, to subsist after a peace. There the envoy took occasion to expostulate upon the advantages stipulated for *Britain* with *France* ; said, “ It was
 “ his opinion, that those ministers ought, in re-
 “ spect of the friendship between both nations, to
 “ acquaint him what these advantages were ; and
 “ that he looked upon his country to be entitled,
 “ by treaty, to share them equally with us : that
 “ there was now another reason why we should
 “ be more disposed to comply with him upon this
 “ head ; for since the late resolution of the house
 “ of lords, he took it for granted, it would be a
 “ dangerous step in us to give *Spain* to a prince
 “ of the house of *Bourbon* ; and therefore, that
 “ we should do well to induce the States, by such
 “ a concession, to help us out of this difficulty.”

Mr,

Mr. St. John made answer, " That there was
 " not a man in the Queen's council capable of
 " so base a thought: that if *Buys* had any thing
 " to complain of, which was injurious to *Hol-*
 " *land*, or justly tending to hurt the good corre-
 " spondence between us and the States, he was
 " confident, her Majesty would at all times be
 " ready to give it up; but that the ministers
 " scorned to screen themselves at the expence of
 " their country: that the resolution *Buys* men-
 " tioned, was chiefly owing to foreign ministers
 " intermeddling in our affairs, and would per-
 " haps have an effect the projectors did not fore-
 " see: that, if the peace became impracticable,
 " the house of commons would certainly put the
 " war upon another foot, and reduce the public
 " expence within such a compass as our treaties
 " required, in the strictest sense, and as our pre-
 " sent condition would admit, leaving the parti-
 " sans for war to supply the rest."

Although the secretary believed this answer
 would put an end to such infamous proposals, it
 fell out otherwise; for shortly after, *Monf. Buys*
 applied himself to the treasurer, promising to un-
 dertake, " That his masters should give up the
 " article of *Spain*, provided they might share with
 " us in the *Assiento* for negroes." To which the
 treasurer's answer was short, " That he would
 " rather lose his head, than consent to such an
 " offer."

It is manifest, by this proceeding, that what-
 ever schemes were forming here at home, in this

junction, by the enemies to the peace, the *Dutch* only designed to fall in with it, as far as it would answer their own account; and, by a strain of the lower politics, wherein they must be allowed to excel every country in *Christendom*, lay upon the watch for a good bargain, by taking advantage of the distress they themselves had brought upon their nearest neighbour and ally.

But the Queen highly resented this indignity from a republic, upon whom she had conferred so many obligations. She could not endure, that the *Dutch* should employ their instruments to act in confederacy with a cabal of factious people, who were prepared to sacrifice the safety of their prince and country, to the recovery of that power they had so long possessed and abused. Her Majesty knew very well, that whatever were the mistaken or affected opinion of some people at home, upon the article of *Spain*, it was a point the States had long given up, who had very openly told our ministry, "That the war in that country was only our concern, and what their republic had nothing to do with." It is true, the party-leaders were equally convinced, that the recovery of *Spain* was impracticable; but many things may be excused in a professed adversary, fallen under disgrace, which are highly criminal in an ally, upon whom we are that very instant conferring new favours. Her Majesty, therefore, thought it high time to exert herself, and at length put a stop to foreign influence upon *British* councils; so that, after the Earl of
Nottingham's

Nottingham's clause against any peace without *Spain*, was carried in the house of lords, directions were immediately sent to the Earl of *Stratford* at the *Hague*, to inform the *Dutch*, "That
 " it was obtained by a trick, and would consequently turn to the disappointment and confusion of the contrivers, and the actors." He was likewise instructed, to be very dry and reserved to the pensionary and *Dutch* ministers; to let them know, "The Queen thought herself ill treated; and that they would soon hear what effects those measures would have upon a mild and good temper, wrought up to resentment by repeated provocations: that the States might have the war continued, if they pleased; but that the Queen would not be forced to carry it on after their manner, nor would suffer them to make her peace, or to settle the interests of her kingdoms."

To others in *Holland*, who appeared to be more moderate, the Earl was directed to say, "That
 " the States were upon a wrong scent: that their minister here mistook every thing that we had promised: that we would perform all they could reasonably ask from us, in relation to their barrier and their trade; and that *Monf. Buys* dealt very unfairly, if he had not told them as much: but that *Britain* proceeded, in some respects, upon a new scheme of politics, would no longer struggle for impossibilities, nor be amused by words: that our people came more and more to their senses; and that the single dispute now

“ was, whether the *Dutch* would join with a faction, against the Queen, or with the nation, for her.”

The court likewise resolved to discourage Prince *Eugene* from his journey to *England*, which he was about this time undertaking, and of which I have spoken before. He was told, “ That the Queen wanted no exhortations to carry on the war; but the project of it should be agreed abroad, upon which her Majesty’s resolutions might soon be signified; but until she saw what the Emperor and allies were ready to do, she would neither promise nor engage for any thing.” At the same time, Mr. *St. John* told *Hoffman*, the Emperor’s resident here, “ That if the prince had a mind to divert himself in *London*, the ministers would do their part to entertain him, and be sure to trouble him with no manner of business.”

This coldness retarded the prince’s journey for some days, but did not prevent it, although he had a second message by the Queen’s order, with this farther addition, “ That his name had lately been made use of, on many occasions, to create a ferment, and stir up sedition; and that her Majesty judged it would be neither safe for him, nor convenient for her, that he should come over at this time.” But all would not do: it was enough, that the Queen did not absolutely forbid him, and the party-confederates, both foreign and domestic, thought his presence would be highly necessary for their service.

Towards

Towards the end of *December*, the Lord Privy-Seal * set out for *Holland*. He was ordered to stop at the *Hague*; and, in conjunction with the Earl of *Strafford*, to declare to the States, in her Majesty's name, "her resolutions to conclude
 " no peace, wherein the allies in general, and
 " and each confederate in particular, might not
 " find their ample security, and their reasonable
 " satisfaction: that she was ready to insist upon
 " their barrier, and advantages in their trade, in
 " the manner the States themselves should de-
 " sire; and to concert with them such a plan of
 " treaty, as both powers might be under mutual
 " engagements never to recede from: that no-
 " thing could be of greater importance, than for
 " the ministers of *Great Britain* and *Holland* to
 " enter the congress, under the strictest ties
 " of confidence, and entirely to concur through-
 " out the course of these negotiations. To which
 " purpose, it was her Majesty's pleasure, that
 " their lordships should adjust, with the *Dutch*
 " ministers, the best manner and method for o-
 " pening and carrying on the conferences, and
 " declare themselves instructed to communicate
 " freely their thoughts and measures to the ple-
 " nipotentiaries of the States, who, they hoped,
 " had received the same instructions."

Lastly, the two Lords were to signify to the pensionary, and the other ministers, "That her Majesty's preparations for the next campaign, were carried on with all the dispatch and vigour, which

* Dr. Robinson, bishop of *Bristol*.

the present circumstances would allow; and to insist, that the same might be done by the States, and that both powers should join in pressing the Emperor, and other Allies, to make greater efforts than they had hitherto done; without which the war must languish, and the terms of peace become every day more disadvantageous."

The two *British* plenipotentiaries went to *Utrecht* with very large instructions, and, after the usual manner, were to make much higher demands from *France* (at least in behalf of the Allies) than they could have any hope to obtain. The sum of what they had in charge, besides matter of form, was, to concert with the ministers of the several powers engaged against *France*, "That all differences arising among them should be accommodated between themselves, without suffering the *French* to interfere: That whatever were proposed to *France* by a minister of the alliance, should be backed by the whole confederacy: That a time might be fixed for the conclusion, as there had been for the commencement of the treaty." *Spain* was to be demanded out of the hands of the *Bourbon* family, as the most effectual means for preventing the union of that kingdom with *France*; and whatever conditions the Allies could agree upon for hindering that union, their Lordships were peremptorily to insist on.

As the interests of each Ally in particular, the plenipotentiaries of *Britain* were to demand "*Strasburgh*, the fort of *Kehl*, with its dependencies, and the town of *Brisac*, with its territory, for the

the Emperor: That *France* should possess *Alsatia*, according to the treaty of *Westphalia*, with the right of the prefecture only over the ten imperial cities in that country: That the fortifications of the said ten cities be put into the condition they were in at the time of the said treaty, except *Landau*, which was to be demanded for the Emperor and Empire, with liberty of demolishing the fortifications: That the *French* King should, at a certain time, and at his own expence, demolish the fortresses of *Huningen*, *New Brisac*, and fort *Lewis*, never to be rebuilt.

“ That the town and fortrefs of *Rhinfelt* should be demanded for the Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, until that matter be otherwise settled.

“ That the clause relating to religion, in the fourth article of the treaty of *Ryswick*, and contrary to that of *Westphalia*, should be annulled, and the state of religion in *Germany* restored to the tenor of the treaty of *Westphalia*.

“ That *France* should acknowledge the King of *Prussia*, and give him no disturbance in *Neufchatel* and *Valengin*: That the principality of *Orange*, and other estates belonging to the late King *William*, should be restored, as law should direct.

“ That the Duke of *Hanover* should be acknowledged Elector.

“ That the King of *Portugal* should enjoy all the advantages stipulated between him and the Allies.

“ That the States should have for their barrier, *Furnes*, Fort *Knock*, *Menin*, *Ipres*, *Lisle*, *Tournay*, *Condé*, *Valenciennes*, *Maubeuge*, *Douay*, *Bethune*, *Avie*, *St. Venant*, and *Bouchain*, with their cannon,

non, &c. That the *French King* should restore all the places belonging to *Spain*, now or during this war in his possession in the *Netherlands*: That such part of them as should be thought fit, might be allowed likewise for a barrier to the States: That *France* should grant the tariff of 1664 to the States, and exemption of fifty pence per tun upon *Dutch* goods trading to that kingdom.

“But that these articles in favour of the States should not be concluded, till the barrier-treaty were explained to the Queen’s satisfaction.

“That the Duke of *Savoy* should be put in possession of all taken from him in this war, and enjoy the places yielded to him by the Emperor, and other Allies: That *France* should likewise yield to him *Exilles*, *Fenestrelles*, *Chaumont*, the valley of *Pregata*, and the land lying between *Piedmont* and mount *Genu*.

“That the article about demolishing of *Dunkirk* should be explained.”

As to *Britain*, the plenipotentiaries were to insist, “That *Nieuport*, *Dendermond*, *Ghent*, and all places which appear to be a barrier rather against *England* than *France*, should either not be given to the *Dutch*, or at least in such a manner, as not to hinder the Queen’s subjects free passage to and from the *Low-Countries*.

“That the seventh article of the Barrier-treaty, which empowers the States, in case of an attack, to put troops at discretion in all the places of

of the *Low-Countries*, should be so explained as to be understood only of an attack from *France*.

“That *Britain* should trade to the *Low-Countries* with the same privileges as the States themselves.

“That the most Christian King should acknowledge the succession of *Hanover*, and immediately oblige the Pretender to leave *France*; and that the said King should promise, for himself and his heirs, never to acknowledge any person for King or Queen of *England*, otherwise than according to the settlements now in force.

“That a treaty of commerce should be commenced, as soon as possible, between *France* and *Britain*; and, in the mean time, the necessary points relating to it be settled.

“That the Isle of *St. Christopher's* should be surrendered to the Queen, *Hudson's bay* restored, *Placentia* and the whole island of *Newfoundland* yielded to *Britain*, by the most Christian King; who was likewise to quit all claim to *Nova Scotia*, and *Annapolis Royal*.

“That *Gibraltar* and *Minorca* should be annexed to the *British* crown.

“That the *Assiento* should be granted to *Britain* for thirty years, with the same advantage as to *France*; with an extent of ground on the river of *Plata*, for keeping and refreshing the negroes.

“That *Spain* should grant to the subjects of *Britain* as large privileges as to any other nation whatsoever; as likewise an exemption of duties, amounting

amounting to an advantage of at least fifteen *per cent.*

“That satisfaction should be demanded for what should appear to be justly due to her Majesty from the Emperor and the States.

“Lastly, That the plenipotentiaries should consult with those of the protestant Allies, the most effectual methods for restoring the protestants of *France* to their religious and civil liberties, and for the immediate release of those who are now in the galleys.”

What part of these demands were to be insisted on, and what were to be given up, will appear by the sequel of this negociation. But there was no difficulty, of moment enough, to retard the peace, except a method for preventing the union of *France* and *Spain* under one prince, and the settling the barrier for *Holland*; which last, as claimed by the States, could, in prudence and safety, be no more allowed by us than by *France*.

The States-General having appointed *Monst. Buys* to be one of their plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, that minister left *England* a few days after the Lord Privy-Seal. In his last conference with the Lords of the council, he absolutely declared, “That his masters had done their utmost, both
“by sea and land: That it was unreasonable to
“expect more: That they had exceeded their
“proportion, even beyond *Britain*; and that as
“to the Emperor, and other allies, he knew no
“expedient left for making them act with more
“vigour

"vigour, than to pursue them with pathetic exhortations."

This minister was sent over hither, instructed and empowered by halves. The ferment raised by the united endeavours of our party-leaders, among whom he was a constant fellow-labourer to the utmost of his skill, had wholly confounded him; and thinking to take the advantage of negotiating well for *Holland* at the expence of *Britain*, he acted but ill for his own country, and worse for the common cause. However the Queen's ministers and he parted with the greatest civility; and her Majesty's present was double the value of what is usual to the character he bore.

As the Queen was determined to alter her measures in making war, so she thought nothing would so much convince the States of the necessity of a peace, as to have them frequently put in mind of this resolution, which her ambassador *Strafford*, then at the *Hague*, was accordingly directed to do: And if they should object, of what ill consequence it would be for the enemy to know her Majesty designed to lessen her expences, he might answer, "That the ministers here
"were sorry for it; but the *Dutch* could only
"blame themselves, for forcing into such a necessity a princess, to whose friendship they owed the preservation and grandeur of their republic, and chusing to lean on a broken faction, rather than place their confidence in the
"Queen."

It

It was her Majesty's earnest desire, that there should be a perfect agreement at this treaty between the ministers of all the Allies; than which, nothing could be more effectual to make *France* comply with their just demands: Above all, she directed her plenipotentiaries to enter into the strictest confidence with those of *Holland*; and that, after the States had consented to explain the Barrier-Treaty to her reasonable satisfaction, both powers should form between them a plan of general peace, from which they would not recede, and such as might secure the quiet of *Europe*, as well as the particular interests of each confederate.

The *Dutch* were accordingly pressed, before the congress opened, to come to some temperament upon that famous treaty; because the ministers here expected it would be soon laid before the House of Commons, by which the resentment of the nation would probably appear against those who had been actors and advisers in it; but *Monf. Buys*, who usually spoke for his colleagues, was full of opposition, began to expostulate upon the advantages *Britain* had stipulated with *France*, and to insist, that his masters ought to share equally in them all, but especially the *Assiento* contract: So that no progress was made in fixing a previous good correspondence between *Britain* and the States, which her Majesty had so earnestly recommended.

Certain regulations having been agreed upon, for avoiding of ceremony and other inconveniences,

cies, the conferences began at *Utrecht*, upon the twenty-ninth of *January*, N. S. 1711-12, at ten in the morning. The ministers of the allies going into the town-house at one door, and those of *France*, at the same instant, at another, they all took their seats without distinction; and the Bishop of *Bristol*, Lord Privy-Seal, first plenipotentiary of *Britain*, opened the assembly with a short speech, directed to the ministers of *France*, in words to the following effect:

“Messieurs,

“We are here met to-day in the name of God, to enter upon a treaty of general peace, between the high Allies and the King your master. We bring sincere intentions, and express orders from our superiors, to concur on their part, with whatever may advance and perfect so salutary and christian a work. On the other side, we hope you have the same disposition; and that your orders will be so full, as to be able, without loss of time, to answer the expectation of the high Allies, by explaining yourselves clearly and roundly upon the points we shall have to settle in these conferences; and that you will perform this in so plain and specific a manner, as every Prince and State in the confederacy may find a just and reasonable satisfaction.”

The *French* began, by promising to explain the overtures, which *Monf. Mesnager* had delivered to the Queen some months before, and to give in a specific project of what their master would yield, provided the Allies would each give a specific answer,

by making their several demands ; which method, after many difficulties, and affected delays of the *Dutch*, was at length agreed to.

But the States, who had, with the utmost discontent, seen her Majesty at the head of this negotiation, where they intended to have placed themselves, began to discover their ill-humour upon every occasion ; they raised endless difficulties about settling the Barrier-Treaty, as the Queen desired ; and in one of the first general conferences, they would not suffer the *British* secretary to take the minutes, but nominated some *Dutch* professor for that office, which the Queen refused, and resented their behaviour as an useless cavil, intended only to shew their want of respect. The *British* plenipotentiaries had great reason to suspect that the *Dutch* were, at this time, privately endeavouring to engage in some separate measures with *France*, by the intervention of one *Moleau*, a busy factious agent at *Amsterdam*, who had been often employed in such intrigues : that this was the cause which made them so litigious and slow in all their steps, in hopes to break the congress, and find better terms for their trade and barrier, from the *French*, than we ever could think fit to allow them. The *Dutch* ministers did also apply themselves, with industry, to cultivate the imperial plenipotentiary's favour, in order to secure all advantages of commerce with *Spain* and the *West-Indies*, in case those dominions could be procured for the Emperor : For this reason, they avoided settling any general plan of peace, in concert with the plenipotentiaries

plenipotentiaries of *Britain*, which her Majesty desired; and *Mons. Buys* plainly told their Lordships, that it was a point, which neither he nor his colleagues could consent to, before the States were admitted equal sharers with *Britain* in the trade of *Spain*.

The court, having notice of this untractable temper in the *Dutch*, gave direct orders to the plenipotentiaries of *Britain*, for pressing those of the States to adjust the gross inequalities of the Barrier-Treaty, since nothing was more usual or agreeable to reason, than for princes, who find themselves aggrieved by prejudicial contracts, to expect they should be modified and explained. And since it now appeared by votes in the house of commons, that the sense of the nation agreed with what her Majesty desired, if the *Dutch* ministers would not be brought to any moderate terms upon this demand, their lordships were directed to improve and amend the particular concessions made to *Britain* by *France*, and form them into a treaty; for the Queen was determined never to allow the States any share in the *Asiento*, *Gibraltar*, and *Port-Mahon*; nor could think it reasonable, that they should be upon an equal foot with her in the trade of *Spain*, to the conquest whereof they had contributed so little.

Nor was the conduct of the Imperial minister at this time less perplexing than that of the States, both those powers appearing fully bent, either upon breaking off the negociation, or, upon forcing from the Queen those advantages she expected

ted by it for her own kingdoms. Her Majesty therefore thought fit, about the beginning of *March*, to send Mr. *Thomas Harley*, a near relation of the treasurer's, to *Utrecht*, fully informed of her mind, which he was directed to communicate to the plenipotentiaries of *Britain*.

Mr. *Harley* stopped in his way to *Utrecht* at the *Hague*, and there told the Pensionary, "That nothing had happened lately in *England*, but what was long ago foretold him, as well as the other ministers of the Allies : That the proceedings of the house of commons, particularly about the Barrier-treaty, must chiefly be ascribed to the manner in which the Queen and the nation had been treated by Monsieur *Bothmar*, Count *Gallas*, *Buys*, and other foreign ministers : That if the States would yet enter into a strict union with the Queen, give her satisfaction in the said treaty, and join in concert with her plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, a safe and advantageous peace might be obtained for the whole alliance ; otherwise, her Majesty must save her own country, and join with such of her Allies as would join with her.

"As to the war, that the conduct of the Allies, and their opposition to the Queen, by private intrigues carried on among her own subjects, as well as by open remonstrances, had made the house of commons take that matter out of the hands of the ministers.

"Lastly, that in case the present treaty were broken off by the *Dutch* refusing to comply, her Majesty thought it reasonable to insist, that some
cautionary

cautionary places be put into her hands, as pledges that no other negociation should be entered into by the States-General, without her participation."

Mr. *Harley*'s instructions to the Queen's plenipotentiaries were, "That they should press those of *France*, to open themselves as far as possible, in concerting such a plan of a general peace, as might give reasonable satisfaction to all the Confederates, and such as her parliament would approve: That the people of *England* believed *France* would consent to such a plan; wherein, if they have found themselves deceived, they would be as eager for prosecuting the war as ever."

Their Lordships were to declare openly to the *Dutch*, "That no extremity should make her Majesty depart from insisting to have the *Affiento* for her own subjects, and to keep *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*; but if the States would agree with her upon these three heads, she would be content to reduce the trade of *Spain* and the *West-Indies*, to the condition it was in under the late Catholic King *Charles II.*"

The *French* were farther to be pressed, "That the Pretender should be immediately sent out of that kingdom; and that the most effectual method should be taken, for preventing the union of *France* and *Spain* under one prince."

About this time, her Majesty's ministers, and those of the Allies, at *Utrecht*, delivered in the several postulata, or demands of their masters to the *French* plenipotentiaries, which having been

since made public, and all of them, except those of *Britain*, very much varying in the course of the negociation, the reader would be but ill entertained with a transcript of them here.

Upon intelligence of the last Dauphin's death, the father, son, and grandson, all of that title, dying within the compass of a year, Monsieur *Gualtier* went to *France* with letters to the Marquis of *Torcy* to propose her Majesty's expedient for preventing the union of that kingdom with *Spain*; which, as it was the most important article to be settled, in order to secure peace for *Europe*, so it was a point that required to be speedily adjusted under the present circumstances and situation of the *Bourbon* family, there being only left a child of two years old to stand between the Duke of *Anjou* and his succeeding to the crown of *France*.

Her Majesty likewise pressed *France* by the same dispatches, to send full instructions to their plenipotentiaries, empowering them to offer to the Allies such a plan of peace, as might give reasonable satisfaction to all her Allies.

The Queen's proposal for preventing an union between *France* and *Spain*, was, "That *Philip* should formally renounce the kingdom of *France* for himself and his posterity; and this renunciation should be confirmed by the courts or states of *Spain*, who, without question, would heartily concur against such an union, by which their country must become a province to *France*." In like manner,

manner, the *French* princes of the blood were severally to renounce all title to *Spain*.

The *French* raised many difficulties upon several particulars of this expedient; but the Queen persisted to refuse any plan of peace before this weighty point were settled in the manner she proposed, which was afterwards submitted to, as in proper place we shall observe. In the mean time, the negociation at *Utrecht* proceeded with a very slow pace; the *Dutch* interposing all obstructions they could contrive, refusing to come to any reasonable temper upon the Barrier-treaty, or to offer a plan, in concert with the Queen, for a general peace. Nothing less would satisfy them, than the partaking in those advantages we had stipulated for ourselves, and which did no ways interfere with their trade or security. They still expected some turn in *England*; their friends on this side had ventured to assure them that the Queen could not live many months, which, indeed, from the bad state of her Majesty's health, was reasonable to expect. The *British* plenipotentiaries daily discovered new endeavours of *Holland* to treat privately with *France*; and, lastly, those among the States, who desired the war should continue, strove to gain time, until the campaign should open; and, by resolving to enter into action with the first opportunity, render all things desperate, and break up the congress.

This scheme did exactly fall in with Prince *Eugene's* dispositions, whom the States had chosen for their general, and of whose conduct, in this conjuncture,

conjuncture, the Queen had so much reason to be jealous; but her Majesty, who was resolved to do her utmost towards putting a good and speedy end to this war, having placed the Duke of *Ormond* at the head of her forces in *Flanders*, whither he was now arrived, directed him to keep all the troops in *British* pay, whether subjects or foreigners, immediately under his own command; and to be cautious, for a while, in engaging in any action of importance, unless upon a very apparent advantage. At the same time, the Queen determined to make one thorough trial of the disposition of the States, by allowing them the utmost concessions that could any way suit either with her safety or honour. She therefore directed her ministers at *Utrecht*, to tell the *Dutch*, “ That, in order to shew how desirous she was to “ live in perfect amity with that Republic; she “ would resign up the fifteen *per cent.* advantage “ upon *English* goods sent to the *Spanish* dominions, which the *French* King had offered her “ by a power from her grandson, and be content to reduce that trade to the state in which “ it was under the late King of *Spain*. She would “ accept of any tolerable softening of those words “ in the seventh article of the Barrier-treaty, “ where it is said, the States shall have power, “ in case of an apparent attack, to put as many “ troops as they please into all the places of the “ *Netherlands*, without specifying an attack from “ the side of *France*, as ought to have been done; “ otherwise, the Queen might justly think they “ were

“ were preparing themselves for a rupture with
 “ *Britain*. Her Majesty likewise consented that
 “ the States should keep *Nieuport*, *Dendermond*,
 “ and the castle of *Ghent*, as an addition to their
 “ Barrier, although she were sensible how inju-
 “ rious those concessions would be to the trade of
 “ her subjects; and would wave the demand of
 “ *Ostend* being delivered into her hands, which she
 “ might with justice insist on. In return of all
 “ this, that the Queen only desired the ministers
 “ of the States would enter into a close corres-
 “ pondence with hers, and settle between them
 “ some plan of a general peace, which might
 “ give reasonable content to all her Allies, and
 “ which her Majesty would endeavour to bring
 “ *France* to consent to. She desired the trade of
 “ her kingdoms to the *Netherlands*, and to the
 “ towns of their barrier, might be upon as
 “ good a foot as it was before the war began:
 “ That the *Dutch* would not insist to have a share
 “ in the *Assiento*, to which they had not the least
 “ pretensions; and that they would no longer en-
 “ courage the intrigues of a faction against her
 “ government. Her Majesty assured them, in
 “ plain terms, that her own future measures,
 “ and the conduct of her plenipotentiaries, should
 “ be wholly governed by their behaviour in these
 “ points; and that her offers were only condi-
 “ tional, in case of their compliance with what she
 “ desired.”

But all these proofs of the Queen's kindness
 and sincerity would not avail. The *Dutch* mini-
 sters

sters pleaded, they had no power to concert the plan of general peace with those of *Britain*: however, they assured the latter, that the *Affiento* was the only difficulty which stuck with their masters. Whereupon, at their desire, a contract for that traffic was twice read to them; after which they appeared very well satisfied, and said, they would go to the *Hague* for further instructions. Thither they went; and, after a week's absence, returned the same answer, "That they had no power to settle a scheme of peace; but could only discourse of it, when the difficulties of the *Barrier-treaty* were over." And *Monf. Buys* took a journey to *Amsterdam*, on purpose to stir up that city, where he was pensionary, against yielding the *Affiento* to *Britain*; but was unsuccessful in his negotiation; the point being yielded up there, and in most other towns in *Holland*.

It will have an odd sound in history, and appear hardly credible, that in several petty republics of single towns, which made up the *States-General*, it should be formally debated, whether the *Queen of Great Britain*, who preserved the commonwealth, at the charge of so many millions, should be suffered to enjoy, after a peace, the liberty granted her by *Spain*, of selling *African* slaves in the *Spanish* dominions of *America*. But there was a prevailing faction at the *Hague*, violently bent against any peace, where the *Queen* must act that part which they had intended for themselves. These politicians, who held constant correspondence with their old dejected friends in
England,

England, were daily fed with the vain hopes of the Queen's death, or the party's restoration. They likewise endeavoured to spin out the time, till Prince *Eugene's* activity had pushed on some great event, which might govern or perplex the conditions of peace: therefore, the *Dutch* plenipotentiaries, who proceeded by the instructions of those mistaken patriots, acted in every point with a spirit of litigiousness, than which nothing could give greater advantage to the enemy; a strict union between the allies, but especially *Britain* and *Holland*, being doubtless the only means for procuring safe and honourable terms from *France*.

But neither was this the worst; for the Queen received undoubted intelligence from *Utrecht*, that the *Dutch* were again attempting a separate correspondence with *France*. And by letters, intercepted here, from *Vienna*, it was found, that the imperial court, whose ministers were in the utmost confidence with those of *Holland*, expressed the most furious rage against her Majesty, for the steps she had taken to advance a peace.

This unjustifiable treatment, the Queen could not digest from an ally, upon whom she had conferred so many signal obligations, whom she had used with so much indulgence and sincerity, during the whole course of the negotiation, and had so often invited to go along with her in every motion towards a peace. She apprehended likewise, that the negotiation might be taken out of her hands, if *France* could be secure of easier conditions

conditions in *Holland*, or might think that *Britain* wanted power to influence the whole confederacy. She resolved, therefore, on this occasion, to exert herself with vigour, steadiness, and dispatch; and, in the beginning of *May*, sent her commands to the Earl of *Strafford*, to repair immediately to *England*, in order to consult with her ministers what was proper to be done.

The proposal above-mentioned, for preventing the union of *France* and *Spain*, met with many difficulties; *Monf. de Torcy* raising objections against several parts of it. But the Queen refused to proceed any farther with *France*, until this weighty point were fully settled to her satisfaction; after which, she promised to grant a suspension of arms, provided the town and citadel of *Dunkirk* might be delivered as a pledge into her hands: and proposed that *Ipres* might be surrendered to the *Dutch*, if they would consent to come into the suspension. *France* absolutely refused the latter; and the States-General having acted in perpetual contradiction to her Majesty, she pressed that matter no farther; because she doubted they would not agree to a cessation of arms. However, she resolved to put a speedy end, or at least intermission, to her own share in the war: and the *French* having declared themselves ready to agree to her expedients, for preventing the union of the two crowns, and consented to the delivery of *Dunkirk*; positive orders were sent to the Duke of *Ormond*, to avoid engaging in any battle or siege, until he had further

ther instructions; but he was directed to conceal his orders, and to find the best excuses he could, if any pressing occasion should offer.

The reasons for this unusual proceeding, which made a mighty noise, were of sufficient weight to justify it; for, pursuant to the agreement made between us and *France*, a courier was then dispatched from *Fontainebleau* to *Madrid*, with the offer of an alternative to *Philip*, either of resigning *Spain* immediately to the Duke of *Savoy*, upon the hopes of succeeding to *France*, and some present advantage, which, not having been accepted, is needless to dilate on; or of adhering to *Spain*, and renouncing all future claim to *France*, for himself and his posterity.

Until it could be known which part *Philip* would accept, the Queen would not take possession of *Dunkirk*, nor suffer an armistice to be declared. But, however, since the most Christian King had agreed, that his grandson should be forced, in case of a refusal, to make his choice immediately, her Majesty could not endure to think, that perhaps some thousands of lives of her own subjects and allies might be sacrificed, without necessity, if an occasion should be found or sought for fighting a battle; which, she very well knew, Prince *Eugene* would eagerly attempt, and put all into confusion, to gratify his own ambition, the enmity of his new masters the *Dutch*, and the rage of his court.

But the Duke of *Ormond*, who, with every other quality that can accomplish or adorn a great

man, inherits all the valour and loyalty of his ancestors, found it very difficult to acquit himself of his commission; for Prince *Eugene*, and all the field-deputies of the States, had begun already to talk either of attacking the enemy, or besieging *Quesnoy*, the confederate army being now all joined by the troops they expected. And accordingly, about three days after the Duke had received those orders from court, it was proposed to his Grace, at a meeting with the Prince and deputies, that the *French* army should be attacked, their camp having been viewed, and a great opportunity offering to do it with success: for the *Mareschal de Villars*, who had notice sent him by *Monf. de Torcy*, of what was passing, and had signified the same by a trumpet to the Duke, shewed less vigilance than was usual to that general, taking no precautions to secure his camp, or observe the motions of the allies, probably on purpose to provoke them. The Duke said, "That the Earl of *Strafford's* sudden departure
"for *England*, made him believe there was some-
"thing of consequence now transacting, which
"would be known in four or five days; and
"therefore, desired they would defer this, or any
"other undertaking, until he could receive fresh
"letters from *England*." Whereupon the Prince and deputies immediately told the Duke, "That
"they looked for an answer as he had given
"them: that they had suspected our measures
"for some time; and their suspicions were con-
"firmed, by the express his Grace had so late-
"ly

“ly received, as well as by the negligence of “*Monf. Villars.*” They appeared extremely dissatisfied: and the deputies told the Duke, that they would immediately send an account of his answer to their masters, which they accordingly did; and soon after, by order from the States, wrote him an expostulating letter, in a style less respectful than became them; desiring him, among other things, to explain himself, whether he had positive orders not to fight the *French*; and afterwards told him, “They were sure he “had such orders, otherwise he could not answer “what he had done.” But the Duke still wavered the question, saying, “He would be glad to “have letters from *England*, before he entered “upon action, and that he expected them daily.”

Upon this incident, the ministers and generals of the allies immediately took the alarm, venting their fury in very violent expressions against the Queen, and those she employed in her councils; said, they were betrayed by *Britain*, and assumed the countenance of those who think they have received an injury, and were disposed to return it.

The Duke of *Ormond*’s army consisted of eighteen thousand of her Majesty’s subjects, and about thirty thousand hired from other princes, either wholly by the Queen, or jointly by her and the States. The Duke immediately informed the court of the dispositions he found among the foreign generals upon this occasion; and that, upon an exigency, he could only depend on the

British troops adhering to him; those of *Hanover* having already determined to desert to the *Dutch*, and tempted the *Danes* to do the like; and that he had reason to suppose the same of the rest.

Upon the news arriving at *Utrecht*, that the Duke of *Ormond* had refused to engage in any action against the enemy, the *Dutch* ministers there, went immediately to make their complaints to the lord privy-seal; aggravating the strangeness of this proceeding, together with the consequence of it, in the loss of a most favourable opportunity for ruining the *French* army, and the discontent it must needs create in the whole body of the confederates: adding, how hard it was, that they should be kept in the dark, and have no communication of what was done in a point which so nearly concerned them. They concluded, that the Duke must needs have acted by orders; and desired his lordship to write both to court, and to his Grace, what they had now said.

The bishop answered, “ That he knew nothing
“ of this fact, but what they had told him; and
“ therefore, was not prepared with a reply to
“ their representations; only, in general, he could
“ venture to say, that this case appeared very like
“ the conduct of their field-deputies upon former occasions: that if such orders were given,
“ they were certainly built upon very justifiable
“ foundations, and would soon be so explained,
“ as to convince the States, and all the world,
“ that the common interest would be better provided

" vided for another way, than by a battle or
 " siege: that the want of communication, which
 " they complained of, could not make the States
 " so uneasy, as their declining to receive it, had
 " made the Queen, who had used her utmost en-
 " deavours to persuade them to concur with her,
 " in concerting every step towards a general
 " peace, and settling such a plan as both sides
 " might approve, and adhere to; but, to this
 " day, the States had not thought fit to accept
 " those offers, or to authorise any of their mini-
 " sters to treat with her Majesty's plenipotential-
 " ries upon that affair, although they had been
 " pressed to it ever since the negociation began:
 " that his lordship, to shew that he did not speak
 " his private sense alone, took this opportunity
 " to execute the orders he had received the even-
 " ing before, by declaring to them, that all her
 " Majesty's offers for adjusting the differences be-
 " tween her and the States, were founded upon
 " this exprefs condition, That they should come
 " immediately into the Queen's measures, and
 " act openly and sincerely with her; and that,
 " from their conduct, so directly contrary, she
 " now looked upon herself to be under no obli-
 " gation to them."

Mons. *Buys* and his colleagues were stunned
 with this declaration, made to them at a time:
 when they pretended to think the right of com-
 plaining to be on their side, and had come to the
 bishop upon that errand. But after their surprise:
 was abated, and *Buys's* long reasonings at an end,

they began to think how matters might be retrieved; and were of opinion, that the States should immediately dispatch a minister to *England*, unless his lordship were empowered to treat with them; which, without new commands, he said he was not. They afterwards desired to know of the bishop, what the meaning was of the last words in his declaration, "That her Majesty looked upon herself to be under no obligation to them." He told them his opinion, "That as the Queen was bound by treaty, to concert with the States the conditions of a peace; so, upon their declining the concert so frequently offered, she was acquitted of that obligation: but that he verily believed, whatever measures her Majesty should take, she would always have a friendly regard to the interest of their commonwealth; and that as their unkindness had been very unexpected and disagreeable to her Majesty, so their compliance would be equally pleasing."

I have been the more circumstantial in relating this affair, because it furnished abundance of discourse, and gave rise to many wild conjectures and misrepresentations, as well here as in *Holland*, especially that part which concerned the Duke of *Ormond*; for the angry faction in the house of commons, upon the first intelligence that the Duke had declined to act offensively against *France*, in concurrence with the allies, moved for an address, wherein the Queen should be informed of "the deep concern of her com-
mons,

"mons, for the dangerous consequences to the
 "common cause, which must arise from this pro-
 "ceeding of her general; and to beseech her,
 "that speedy instructions might be given to the
 "Duke, to prosecute the war with vigour, in or-
 "der to quiet the minds of her people," &c.
 But a great majority was against this motion,
 and a resolution drawn up and presented to the
 Queen, by the whole house, of a quite contrary
 tenor, "That they had an entire confidence in
 "her Majesty's most gracious promise, to com-
 "municate to her parliament the terms of the
 "peace, before the same should be concluded;
 "and that they would support her Majesty, in
 "obtaining an honourable and safe peace, against
 "all such persons, either at home or abroad, who
 "have endeavoured, or shall endeavour to ob-
 "struct the same."

The courier, sent with the alternative to *Spain*,
 was now returned, with an account that *Philip*
 had chosen to renounce *France*, for himself and
 his posterity; whereof the Queen having received
 notice, her Majesty, upon the sixth of *June*,
 in a long speech to both houses of parliament,
 laid before them the terms of a general peace,
 stipulated between her and *France*. This speech,
 being the plan whereby both *France* and the al-
 lies have been obliged to proceed in the subse-
 quent course of the treaty, I shall desire the read-
 er's leave to insert it at length, although I believe
 it hath been already in most hands.

"My

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ The making peace and war is the undoubted prerogative of the crown; yet such is the just confidence I place in you, that at the opening of this session, I acquainted you that a negotiation for a general peace was begun; and afterwards, by messages, I promised to communicate to you the terms of peace, before the same should be concluded.

“ In pursuance of that promise, I now come to let you know, upon what terms a general peace may be made.

“ I need not mention the difficulties which arise from the very nature of this affair; and it is but too apparent, that these difficulties have been increased by other obstructions, artfully contrived to hinder this great and good work.

“ Nothing, however, has moved me from steadily pursuing, in the first place, the true interests of my own kingdoms; and I have not omitted any thing which might procure to all our allies what is due to them by treaties, and what is necessary for their security.

“ The assuring of the protestant succession, as by law established, in the house of *Hanover*, to these kingdoms, being what I have nearest at heart, particular care is taken, not only to have that acknowledged in the strongest terms, but to have an additional security, by the removal of that person out of the dominions of *France*, who has pretended to disturb this settlement.

“ The

“ The apprehension that *Spain* and the *West*
 “ *Indies* might be united to *France*, was the chief
 “ inducement to begin this war, and the effec-
 “ tual preventing of such an union, was the prin-
 “ ciple I laid down at the commencement of this
 “ treaty : former examples, and the late negocia-
 “ tions, sufficiently shew how difficult it is to
 “ find means to accomplish this work. I would
 “ not content myself with such as are specula-
 “ tive, or depend on treaties only : I insisted on
 “ what was solid, and to have at hand the power
 “ of executing what should be agreed.

“ I can therefore now tell you, that *France* at
 “ last is brought to offer, that the Duke of *Anjou*
 “ shall, for himself and his descendants, renounce
 “ for ever all claim to the crown of *France* ; and,
 “ that this important article may be exposed to
 “ no hazard, the performance is to accompany
 “ the promise.

“ At the same time the succession to the crown
 “ of *France* is to be declared, after the death of
 “ the present Dauphin and his sons, to be in the
 “ Duke of *Berry* and his sons, in the Duke of
 “ *Orleans* and his sons, and so on to the rest of
 “ the house of *Bourbon*.

“ As to *Spain* and the *Indies*, the succession to
 “ those dominions, after the Duke of *Anjou* and
 “ his children, is to descend to such prince as
 “ shall be agreed upon at the treaty, for ever ex-
 “ cluding the rest of the house of *Bourbon*.

“ For confirming the renunciations and settle-
 “ ments before-mentioned, it is further offered,
 “ that

“ that they should be ratified in the most strong
“ and solemn manner both in *France* and *Spain* ;
“ and that those kingdoms, as well as all the
“ other powers engaged in the present war, shall
“ be guarantees to the same.

“ The nature of this proposal is such, that it
“ executes itself : the interest of *Spain* is to sup-
“ port it ; and in *France*, the persons to whom
“ that succession is to belong, will be ready and
“ powerful enough to vindicate their own right.

“ *France* and *Spain* are now more effectually
“ divided than ever. And thus, by the blessing
“ of God, will a real balance of power be fixed
“ in *Europe*, and remain liable to as few acci-
“ dents as human affairs can be exempted from.

“ A treaty of commerce between these king-
“ doms and *France*, has been entered upon ; but
“ the excessive duties laid on some goods, and
“ the prohibitions of others, make it impossible to
“ finish this work so soon as were to be desired.
“ Care is however taken to establish a method of
“ settling this matter ; and in the mean time,
“ provision is made, that the same privileges and
“ advantages, as shall be granted to any other na-
“ tion by *France*, shall be granted in like man-
“ ner to us.

“ The division of the island of *St. Christopher*,
“ between us and the *French*, having been the
“ cause of great inconveniency and damage to my
“ subjects, I have demanded to have an absolute
“ cession made to me of the whole island ; and
“ *France* agrees to this demand.

“ Our

FOUR LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 191

“ Our interest is so deeply concerned in the
“ trade of *North America*, that I have used my
“ utmost endeavours to adjust that article in the
“ most beneficial manner. *France* consents to
“ restore to us the whole bay and streights of
“ *Hudson*; to deliver up the island of *Newfound-*
“ *land*, with *Placentia*; and to make an absolute
“ cession of *Annapolis*, with the rest of *Nova Scotia*,
“ or *Accadie*: the safety of our home trade will
“ be better provided for, by the demolition of
“ *Dunkirk*.

“ Our *Mediterranean* trade, and the *British* in-
“ terest and influence in those parts, will be se-
“ cured by the possession of *Gibraltar* and *Port-*
“ *Mahon*, with the whole island of *Minorca*, which
“ are offered to remain in my hands.

“ The trade to *Spain* and the *West-Indies* may
“ in general be settled, as it was in the time of
“ the late King of *Spain*, *Charles* the II^d, and a
“ particular provision be made, that all advanta-
“ ges, rights, or privileges, which have been
“ granted, or may hereafter be granted, by *Spain*
“ to any other nation, shall be in like manner
“ granted to the subjects of *Great-Britain*.

“ But the part which we have borne in the
“ prosecution of this war, entitling us to some
“ distinction in the terms of peace, I have insist-
“ ed, and obtained, that the *Assiento*, or contract
“ for furnishing the *Spanish* *West-Indies* with ne-
“ groes, shall be made with us for the term of thirty
“ years, in the same manner as it has been en-
“ joyed by the *French* for ten years past.

“ I have

“ I have not taken upon me to determine the
“ interests of our confederates ; these must be
“ adjusted in the congress at *Utrecht*, where my
“ best endeavours shall be employed, as they
“ have hitherto constantly been, to procure to e-
“ very one of them all just and reasonable satis-
“ faction. In the mean time, I think it proper
“ to acquaint you, that *France* offers to make the
“ *Rhine* the barrier of the empire ; to yield *Bri-*
“ *sack*, the fort of *Kehl*, and *Landau*, and to rase
“ all the fortresses, both on the other side of the
“ *Rhine*, and in that river.

“ As to the protestant interest in *Germany*,
“ there will be on the part of *France* no objection
“ to the resettling thereof, on the foot of the
“ treaty of *Westphalia*.

“ The *Spanish* Low Countries may go to his
“ Imperial Majesty : the kingdoms of *Naples* and
“ *Sardinia*, the dutchy of *Milan*, and the places
“ belonging to *Spain* on the coast of *Tuscany*, may
“ likewise be yielded by the treaty of peace to
“ the Emperor.

“ As to the kingdom of *Sicily*, though there
“ remains no dispute concerning the cession of it
“ by the Duke of *Anjou*, yet the disposition there-
“ of is not yet determined.

“ The interest of the States-General, with re-
“ spect to commerce, are agreed to, as they have
“ been demanded by their own ministers, with
“ the exception only of some very few species of
“ merchandize ; and the entire barrier, as de-
“ manded

“manded by the States in 1709 from *France*,
 “except two or three places at most.

“As to these exceptions, several expedients
 “are proposed; and I make no doubt but this
 “barrier may be so settled, as to render that re-
 “publick perfectly secure against any enterprize
 “on the part of *France*; which is the foundation
 “of all my engagements upon this head with the
 “States.

“The demands of *Portugal* depending on the
 “disposition of *Spain*, and that article having
 “been long in dispute, it has not been yet possi-
 “ble to make any considerable progress therein;
 “but my plenipotentiaries will now have an op-
 “portunity to assist that King in his pretensions.

“Those of the King of *Prussia* are such as, I
 “hope, will admit of little difficulty on the part
 “of *France*; and my utmost endeavours shall not
 “be wanting to procure all I am able to so good
 “an ally.

“The difference between the barrier demand-
 “ed for the Duke of *Savoy* in 1709, and the of-
 “fers now made by *France*, is very inconsider-
 “able: but, that Prince having so signally dis-
 “tinguished himself in the service of the common
 “cause, I am endeavouring to procure for him
 “still farther advantages.

“*France* has consented that the Elector *Palat-
 “tine* shall continue his present rank among the
 “Electors, and remain in possession of the upper
 “*Palatinate*.

“ The electoral dignity is likewise acknow-
“ ledged in the house of *Hanover*, according to
“ the article inserted, at that Prince’s desire, in
“ my demands.

“ And as to the rest of the allies, I make no
“ doubt of being able to secure their several in-
“ terests.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I have now communicated to you, not only
“ the terms of peace, which may, by the future
“ treaty, be obtained for my own subjects; but
“ likewise the proposals of *France*, for satisfying
“ our allies.

“ The former are such as I have reason to ex-
“ pect, to make my people some amends for that
“ great and unequal burden which they have
“ lain under, through the whole course of this
“ war; and I am willing to hope, that none of
“ our confederates, and especially those to whom
“ so great accessions of dominion and power are
“ to accrue by this peace, will envy *Britain* her
“ share in the glory and advantage of it.

“ The latter are not yet so perfectly adjusted,
“ as a little more time might have rendered them;
“ but the season of the year making it necessary
“ to put an end to this session, I resolved no long-
“ er to defer communicating these matters to you.

“ I can make no doubt but you are all fully
“ persuaded, that nothing will be neglected on
“ my part, in the progress of the negotiation, to
“ bring the peace to an happy and speedy issue;
“ and

“and I depend on your entire confidence in me,
 “and your chearful concurrence with me.”

The discontented party in the House of Commons, finding the torrent against them not to be stemmed, suspended their opposition; by which means an address was voted, *nemine contradicente*, to acknowledge her Majesty's condescension, to express their satisfaction in what she had already done, and to desire she would please to proceed with the present negociations for the obtaining a speedy peace.

During these transactions at home, the Duke of *Ormond* was in a very uneasy situation at the army, employed in practising those arts which perhaps are fitter for a subtle negociator than a great commander. But as he had always proved his obedience, where courage or conduct could be of use; so the duty he professed to his prince, made him submit to continue in a state of inactivity at the head of his troops, however contrary to his nature, if it were for her Majesty's service. He had sent early notice to the ministers, that he could not depend upon the foreign forces in the Queen's pay; and he now found some attempts were already begun to seduce them.

While the courier was expected from *Madrid*, the Duke had orders to inform the *Mareschal de Villars* of the true state of this affair; that his Grace would have decisive orders in three or four days. In the mean time, he desired the *Mareschal* would not oblige him to come to any action, either to defend himself, or to join with prince

Eugene's army; which he must necessarily do, if the Prince were attacked.

When the courier was arrived with the account, that *Philip* had chosen to accept of *Spain*, her Majesty had proposed to *France* a suspension of arms for two months (to be prolonged three or four,) between the armies now in *Flanders*, upon the following conditions.

“ That, during the suspension, endeavours
“ should be used for concluding a general peace;
“ or, at least, the article for preventing the union
“ of *France* and *Spain*, should be punctually ex-
“ ecuted by *Philip's* renouncing *France*, for him-
“ self and his posterity; and the princes of *Bour-*
“ *bon*, in like manner renouncing *Spain*: and
“ that the town, citadel, and forts of *Dunkirk*
“ should be immediately delivered into the
“ Queen's hands.” Her Majesty at the same time endeavoured to get *Cambray* for the *Dutch*, provided they would come into the suspension. But this was absolutely rejected by *France*; which that court would never have ventured to do, if those Allies could have been prevailed on to have acted with sincerity and openness in concert with her Majesty, as her plenipotentiaries had always desired. However, the Queen promised, that if the States would yield to a suspension of arms, they should have some valuable pledge put into their possession.

But now fresh intelligence daily arrived, both from *Utrecht* and the army, of attempts to make the troops in her Majesty's pay, desert her service;
and

and a design even of seizing the *British* forces, was whispered about, and with reason suspected.

When the Queen's speech was published in *Holland*, the Lord Privy-Seal told the *Dutch* ministers at *Utrecht*, "That what her Majesty had laid before her parliament could not, according to the rules of treaty, be looked on as the utmost of what *France* would yield in the course of a negociation; but only the utmost of what that crown would propose, in order to form the plan of a peace: that these conditions would certainly have been better, if the States had thought fit to have gone hand in hand with her Majesty, as she had so frequently exhorted them to do: that nothing but the want of harmony among the Allies had spirited the *French* to stand out so long: that the Queen would do them all the good offices in her power, if they thought fit to comply; and did not doubt of getting them reasonable satisfaction, both in relation to their barrier and their trade."

But this reasoning made no impression: the *Dutch* ministers said, the Queen's speech had deprived them of the fruits of the war. They were in pain, lest *Lisle* and *Tournay* might be two of the towns to be excepted out of their barrier. The rest of the Allies grew angry, by the example of the *Dutch*. The populace in *Holland* began to be inflamed: they publicly talked, that *Britain* had betrayed them. Sermons were preached in several towns of their provinces, whether by direction or connivance, filled with the highest instances of disrespect to her *Britannick* Majesty, whom they

charged as a papist, and an enemy to their country. The Lord Privy-Seal himself believed something extraordinary was in agitation, and that his own person was in danger from the fury of the people.

It is certain, that the States appeared, but a few days before, very much disposed to comply with the measures the Queen had taken, and would have consented to a general armistice, if Count Zinzendorf, one of the plenipotentiaries for the Emperor, had not, by direct orders from his court, employed himself in sowing jealousies between *Britain* and the States; and, at the same time, made prodigious offers to the latter, as well as to the ministers of *Prussia*, the *Palatinate*, and *Hanover*, for continuing the war. That those three Electors, who contributed nothing, except bodies of men, in return of pay and subsidies, should readily accept the proposals of the Emperor, is easy to be accounted for. What appears hardly credible is, that a grave Republick, usually cautious enough in making their bargains, should venture to reject the thoughts of a peace upon the promises of the house of *Austria*, the little validity whereof they had so long experienced; and especially when they counted upon losing the support of *Britain*, their most powerful Ally; but the false hopes given them by their friends in *England*, of some new change in their favour, or an imagination of bringing *France* to better terms by the appearance of resolution, added to the weakness or corruption of some, who administered

administered their affairs, were the true causes which first created, and afterwards inflamed, this untractable temper among them.

The *Dutch* ministers were wholly disconcerted and surpris'd, when the Lord Privy-Seal told them, "That a suspension of arms in the *Nether-*
"lands would be necessary; and that the Duke
"of *Ormond* intended very soon to declare it, af-
"ter he had taken possession of *Dunkirk*." But his Lordship endeavoured to convince them, that this incident ought rather to be a motive for hastening the States into a compliance with her Majesty. He likewise communicated to the ministers of the Allies the offers made by *France*, as delivered in the speech from the throne, which her Majesty thought to be satisfactory, and hoped their masters would concur with her in bringing the peace to a speedy conclusion, wherein each, in particular, might be assured of her best offices for advancing their just pretensions.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Ormond* was directed to send a body of troops to take possession of *Dunkirk*, as soon as he should have notice from the *Mareschal de Villars*, that the commandant of the town had received orders from his court to deliver it; but the Duke foresaw many difficulties in the executing this commission. He could trust such an enterprize to no forces, except those of her Majesty's own subjects. He considered the temper of the States in this conjuncture, and was loath to divide a small body of men, upon whose faithfulness alone he could depend. He thought
it

it not prudent to expose them to march through the enemy's country, with whom there was yet neither peace nor truce; and he had sufficient reasons to apprehend, that the *Dutch* would either not permit such a detachment to pass through their towns (as themselves had more than hinted to him) or would seize them as they passed: besides, the Duke had very fairly signified to Mareschal *de Villars*, that he expected to be deserted by all the foreign troops in her Majesty's pay, as soon as the armistice should be declared; at which the Mareschal appearing extremely disappointed, said, "The King his master reckoned, that all the troops under his grace's command should yield to the cessation; and wondered how it should come to pass, that those who might be paid for lying still, would rather choose, after a ten years war, to enter into the service of new masters, under whom they must fight on for nothing." In short, the opinion of Mons. *Villars* was, that this difficulty cancelled the promise of surrendering *Dunkirk*; which therefore he opposed as much as possible, in the letters he writ to his court.

Upon the Duke of *Ormond*'s representing those difficulties, the Queen altered her measures, and ordered forces to be sent from *England*, to take possession of *Dunkirk*. The Duke was likewise commanded to tell the foreign generals in her Majesty's service, how highly she would resent their desertion; after which, their masters must give up all thoughts of any arrears, either of pay

or subsidy. The Lord Privy-Seal spoke the same language at *Utrecht*, to the several ministers of the Allies; as Mr. Secretary *St. John* did to those who resided here; adding, "That the proceeding of the foreign troops would be looked upon as a declaration for or against her Majesty; and that, in case they desert her service, she would look on herself as justified, before God and man, to continue her negotiation at *Utrecht*, or any other place, whether the Allies concur or not." And particularly the *Dutch* were assured, "that if their masters seduced the forces hired by the Queen, they must take the whole pay, arrears, and subsidies on themselves."

The Earl of *Strafford*, preparing about this time to return to *Utrecht*, with instructions proper to the present situation of affairs, went first to the army, and there informed the Duke of *Ormond* of her Majesty's intentions. He also acquainted the States' deputies with the Queen's uneasiness, lest, by the measures they were taking, they should drive her to extremities, which she desired so much to avoid. He farther represented to them, in the plainest terms, the provocations her Majesty had received, and the grounds and reasons for her present conduct. He likewise declared to the commanders in chief of the foreign troops, in the Queen's pay, and in the joint pay of *Britain* and the States, with how much surprize her Majesty had heard, "that there was the least doubt of their obeying the
" orders.

“ orders of the Duke of *Ormond*; which, if they
 “ refused, her Majesty would esteem it not only
 “ as an indignity and affront, but as a declaration
 “ against her; and, in such a case, they must
 “ look on themselves as no farther entitled either
 “ to any arrear, or future pay or subsidies.”

Six regiments under the command of Mr. *Hill*, were now preparing to embark, in order to take possession of *Dunkirk*; and the Duke of *Ormond*, upon the first intelligence sent him, that the *French* were ready to deliver the town, was to declare he could act no longer against *France*. The Queen gave notice immediately of her proceedings to the States. She let them plainly know, “ That their perpetual caballing
 “ with her factious subjects, against her authority, had forced her into such measures, as otherwise she would not have engaged in. However, her Majesty was willing yet to forget all that had passed, and to unite with them in the strictest ties of amity, which she hoped they would now do; since they could not but be convinced, by the late dutiful addresses of both Houses, how far their High Mightinesses had been deluded, and drawn in as instruments to serve the turn, and gratify the passions, of a disaffected party: that their opposition, and want of concert with her Majesty’s ministers, which she had so often invited them to, had encouraged *France* to except towns out of their barrier, which otherwise might have been yielded: that, however, she had not precluded them,

“ or

“ or any other Ally, from demanding more; and
 “ even her own terms were but conditional, up-
 “ on supposition of a general peace to ensue:
 “ that her Majesty resolved to act upon the plan
 “ laid down in her speech;” and she repeated
 the promise of her best offices to promote the in-
 terest of the States, if they would deal sincerely
 with her.

Some days before the Duke of *Ormond* had no-
 tice, that orders were given for the surrender of
Dunkirk, prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* sent for the ge-
 nerals of the Allies, and asked them severally,
 whether, in case the armies separated, they would
 march with him, or stay with the Duke? All of
 them, except two, who commanded but small
 bodies, agreed to join with the Prince; who
 thereupon, about three days after, sent the Duke
 word, that he intended to march the following
 day (as it was supposed) to besiege *Landrecy*.
 The Duke returned an answer, “ That he was
 “ surpris’d at the Prince’s message, there having
 “ been not the least previous concert with him,
 “ nor any mention in the message, which way,
 “ or upon what design, the march was intended;
 “ therefore, that the Duke could not resolve to
 “ march with him; much less could the Prince
 “ expect assistance from the Queen’s army, in a-
 “ ny design undertaken after this manner.” The
 Duke told this beforehand, that he (the prince)
 might take his measures accordingly, and not at-
 tribute to her Majesty’s general any misfortune
 that might happen.

On

On the sixteenth of *July*, N. S. the several generals of the Allies joined Prince *Eugene's* army, and began their march, after taking leave of the Duke and the Earl of *Strafford*, whose expostulations could not prevail on them to stay; although the latter assured them, that the Queen had made neither peace nor truce with *France*, and that her forces would now be left exposed to the enemy.

The next day after this famous desertion, the Duke of *Ormond* received a letter from Monf. *de Villars*, with an account, that the town and citadel of *Dunkirk* should be delivered to Mr. *Hill*. Whereupon a cessation of arms was declared, by sound of trumpet, at the head of the *British* army; which now consisted only of about eighteen thousand men, all of her Majesty's subjects, except the *Holsteiners* and Count *Wallis's* dragoons. With this small body of men the general began his march, and, pursuant to orders from court, retired towards the sea, in the manner he thought most convenient for the Queen's service. When he came as far as *Flines*, he was told by some of his officers, that the commandants of *Bouchain*, *Douay*, *Lisle*, and *Tournay*, had refused them passage through those towns, or even liberty of entrance, and said it was by order of their masters. The Duke immediately recollected, that when the deputies first heard of his resolution to withdraw his troops, they told him they hoped he did not intend to march through any of their towns. This made him conclude, that the orders

orders must be general, and that his army would certainly meet with the same treatment which his officers had done. He had likewise, before the armies separated, received information of some designs that concerned the safety, or at least the freedom of his own person, and, (which he much more valued) that of those few *British* troops entrusted to his care. No general was ever more truly or deservedly beloved by his soldiers, who, to a man, were prepared to sacrifice their lives in his service; and whose resentments were raised to the utmost, by the ingratitude, as they termed it, of their deserters.

Upon these provocations, he laid aside all thoughts of returning to *Dunkirk*, and began to consider how he might perform, in so difficult a conjuncture, something important to the Queen, and at the same time find a secure retreat for his forces. He formed his plan, without communicating it to any person whatsoever; and the disposition of the army being to march towards *Warneton*, in the way to *Dunkirk*, he gave sudden orders to lieutenant-general *Cadogan*, to change his route, according to the military phrase, and move towards *Orchies*, a town leading directly to *Ghent*.

When Prince *Eugene* and the States' deputies received news of the Duke's motions, they were alarmed to the utmost degree, and sent Count *Nassau*, of *Wordenburg*, to the general's camp near *Orchies*, to excuse what had been done, and to assure his Grace, that those commandants,

who had refused passage to his officers, had acted wholly without orders. Count *Hempseck*, one of the *Dutch* generals, came likewise to the Duke with the same story; but all this made little impression on the general, who held on his march, and on the twenty-third of *July*, N. S. entered *Ghent*, where he was received, with great submission, by the inhabitants, and took possession of the town, as he likewise did of *Bruges*, a few days after.

The Duke of *Ormond* thought, that considering the present disposition of the States towards *Britain*, it might be necessary for the Queen to have some pledge from that republic in her hands, as well as from *France*, by which means her Majesty would be empowered to act the part that best became her, of being mediator at least: that while *Ghent* was in the Queen's hands, no provisions could pass the *Scheld* or the *Lis* without her permission, by which he had it in his power to starve their army. The possession of these towns might likewise teach the *Dutch* and *Imperialists*, to preserve a degree of decency and civility to her Majesty, which both of them were, upon some occasions, too apt to forget; and besides, there was already in the town of *Ghent*, a battalion of *British* troops, and a detachment of five hundred men in the citadel, together with a great quantity of ammunition-stores for the service of the war, which would certainly have been seized or embezzled; so that no service could be more seasonable or useful in the present juncture than

than this; which the Queen highly approved, and left the Duke a discretionary power to act as he thought fit, on any future emergency.

I have a little intercepted the order of time, in relating the Duke of *Ormond's* proceedings, who, after having placed a garrison at *Bruges*, and sent a supply of men and ammunition to *Dunkirk*, retired to *Ghent*, where he continued some months, till he had leave to return to *England*.

Upon the arrival of colonel *Disney* to court, with an account that Mr. *Hill* had taken possession of *Dunkirk*, an universal joy spread over the kingdom, this event being looked on as the certain forerunner of a peace: besides, the *French* faith was in so ill a reputation among us, that many persons, otherwise sanguine enough, could never bring themselves to believe, that the town would be delivered, till certain intelligence came that it was actually in our hands. Neither were the ministers themselves altogether at ease, or free from suspicion, whatever countenance they made: for they knew very well, that the *French* king had many plausible reasons to elude his promise, if he found cause to repent it; one condition of surrendering *Dunkirk*, being a general armistice of all the troops in the *British* pay, which her Majesty was not able to perform; and, upon this failure, the *Mareschal de Villars* (as we have before related) endeavoured to dissuade his court from accepting the conditions: and in the very interval, while those difficulties

were adjusting, the Mareschal de *Huxelles*, one of the *French* plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* (whose inclinations, as well as those of his colleague, *Monf. Mesnager*, led him to favour the States more than *Britain*) assured the Lord Privy-Seal, that the *Dutch* were then pressing to enter into separate measures with his master: and his lordship, in a visit to the *Abbé de Polignac*, observing a person to withdraw as he entered the *Abbé's* chamber, was told by this minister, that the person he saw was one *Moleau*, of *Amsterdam*, mentioned before, a famous agent for the States with *France*, who had been entertaining him (the *Abbé*) upon the same subject; but that he had refused to treat with *Moleau*, without the privity of *England*.

Mr. Harley, whom we mentioned above to have been sent early in the spring to *Utrecht*, continued longer in *Holland* than was at first expected; but having received her Majesty's farther instructions, was about this time arrived at *Hanover*. It was the misfortune of his Electoral Highness, to be very ill served by *Monf. Bothmar*, his envoy here, who assisted at all the factious meetings of the discontented party, and deceived his master by a false representation of the kingdom, drawn from the opinion of those to whom he confined his conversation. There was likewise at the Elector's court a little *Frenchman*, without any merit or consequence, called *Robithan*, who, by the assistance and encouragement of the late ministry, had insinuated himself into some degree of that

that prince's favour, which he used in giving his master the worst impressions he was able, of those whom the Queen employed in her service; insinuating, that the present ministers were not in the interest of his Highness's family; that their views were towards the Pretender; that they were making an unsecure and dishonourable peace; that the weight of the nation was against them; and that it was impossible for them to preserve much longer their credit or power.

The Earl *Rivers* had, in the foregoing years, been sent to *Hanover*, in order to undeceive the Elector, and remove whatever prejudices might be infused into his Highness, against her Majesty's proceedings; but it should seem, that he had no very great success in his negociation: for soon after his return to *England*, *Monf. Bothmar's* memorial appeared, in the manner I have already related, which discovered the sentiments of his Electoral Highness (if they were truly represented in that memorial) to differ not a little from those of the Queen. Mr. *Harley* was therefore directed, to take the first opportunity of speaking to the Elector in private, to assure him, "That
 " although her Majesty had thought herself just-
 " ly provoked, by the conduct of his minister,
 " yet such was her affection for his Highness,
 " and concern for the interests of his family,
 " that instead of shewing the least mark of re-
 " sentment, she had chosen to send him (Mr.
 " *Harley*) fully instructed to open her designs,
 " and shew his Highness the real interest of Bri-

“*tain*, in the present conjuncture.” Mr. *Harley* was to give the Elector a true account of what had passed in *England*, during the first part of this session of parliament; to expose to his Highness the weakness of those with whom his minister had consulted, and under whose directions he had acted; to convince him how much lower that faction must become, when a peace should be concluded, and when the natural strength of the kingdom, disincumbered from the burthen of the war, should be at liberty to exert itself; to shew him how his interest in the succession was sacrificed to that of a party; that his Highness had been hitherto a friend to both sides, but that the measures taken by his ministers, had tended only to set him at the head of one, in opposition to the other; to explain to the Elector, how fully the safety of *Europe* was provided for, by the plan of peace in her Majesty’s speech; and how little reason those would appear to have, who complained the loudest of this plan, if it were compared either with our engagements to them when we began the war, or with their performances in the course of it.

Upon this occasion, Mr. *Harley* was to observe to the Elector, “That it should rather be wondered at, how the Queen had brought *France* to offer so much, than yet to offer no more; because, as soon as ever it appeared that her Majesty would be at the head of this treaty, and that the interests of *Britain* were to be provided for, such endeavours were used to
“ break

“break off the negociation, as are hardly to be
 “paralleled; and the disunion thereby created
 “among the allies, had given more opportuni-
 “ties to the enemy, of being slow in their con-
 “cessions, than any other measures might possi-
 “bly have done: that this want of concert a-
 “mong the allies, could not in any sort be im-
 “puted to the Queen, who had all along invited
 “them to it with the greatest earnestness, as the
 “surest means to bring *France* to reason: that
 “she had always, in a particular manner, press-
 “ed the States-General to come into the strict-
 “est union with her, and opened to them her in-
 “tentions with the greatest freedom; but find-
 “ing, that instead of concurring with her Ma-
 “jesty, they were daily carrying on intrigues to
 “break off the negociation, and thereby deprive
 “her of the advantages she might justly expect
 “from the ensuing peace, having no other way
 “left, she was forced to act with *France* as she
 “did, by herself: that, however, the Queen had
 “not taken upon herself to determine the inte-
 “rests of the allies, who were at liberty of in-
 “sisting on farther pretensions, wherein her Ma-
 “jesty would not be wanting to support them,
 “as far as she was able, and improve the con-
 “cessions already made by *France*: in which case,
 “a good understanding and harmony among the
 “confederates, would yet be of the greatest use,
 “for making the enemy more tractable and
 “easy.”

I have been more particular, in reciting the
 substance

substance of Mr. *Harley's* instructions, because it will serve as a recapitulation of what I have already said upon this subject, and seems to set her Majesty's intentions, and proceedings at this time, in the clearest light.

After the cessation of arms declared by the Duke of *Ormond*, upon the delivery of *Dunkirk*, the *British* plenipotentiaries very earnestly pressed those of *Holland* to come into a general armistice; for if the whole confederacy acted in conjunction, this would certainly be the best means for bringing the common enemy to reasonable terms of peace: but the States, deluded by the boundless promises of Count *Zinzenendorf*, and the undertaking talent of Prince *Eugene*, who dreaded the conclusion of the war, as the period of his glory, would not hear of a cessation. The loss of eighteen thousand *Britons* was not a diminution of weight in the balance of such an ally as the Emperor, and such a general as the prince. Besides, they looked upon themselves to be still superior to *France* in the field; and although their computation was certainly right, in point of number, yet, in my opinion, the conclusion drawn from it, was grounded upon a great mistake. I have been assured, by several persons of our own country, and some foreigners of the first rank, both for skill and station in arms, that in most victories obtained in the present war, the *British* troops were ever employed in the post of danger and honour, and usually began the attack (being allowed to be naturally more fearless than the people

people of any other country) by which they were not only an example of courage to the rest, but must be acknowledged, without partiality, to have governed the fortune of the day: since it is known enough, how small a part of an army is generally engaged in any battle. It may likewise be added, that nothing is of greater moment in war, than opinion. The *French*, by their frequent losses, which they chiefly attributed to the courage of our men, believed that a *British* general, at the head of *British* troops, was not to be overcome; and the *Mareschal de Villars* was quickly sensible of the advantage he had got; for, in a very few days after the desertion of the allies, happened the Earl of *Albemarle's* disgrace at *Denain*, by a feint of the *Mareschal's*, and a manifest failure somewhere or other, both of courage and conduct on the side of the confederates. The blame of which, was equally shared between Prince *Eugene* and the Earl; although it is certain, the Duke of *Ormond* gave the latter timely warning of his danger, observing he was neither entrenched as he ought, nor provided with bridges sufficient for the situation he was in, and at such a distance from the main army.

The Marquis *de Torcy* had likewise the same sentiments, of what mighty consequence those few *British* battalions were to the confederate army; since he advised his master to deliver up *Dunkirk*, although the Queen could not perform the condition understood, which was a cessation of arms of all the foreign forces in her pay.

It

It must be owned, that *Monf. de Torcy* made great merit of this confidence that his master placed in the Queen; and observing her Majesty's displeasure against the *Dutch*, on account of their late proceedings, endeavoured to inflame it with aggravations enow; insinuating, that since the States had acted so ungratefully, the Queen should let her forces join with those of *France*, in order to compel the confederates to a peace. But although this overture was very tenderly hinted from the *French* court, her Majesty heard it with the utmost abhorrence; and ordered her secretary, *Mr. St. John* (created about this time *Viscount Bolingbroke*) to tell *Monf. de Torcy*, "That
"no provocations whatever should tempt her to
"distress her allies; but she would endeavour to
"bring them to reason by fair means, or leave
"them to their own conduct: that if the former
"should be found impracticable, she would then
"make her own peace, and content herself with
"doing the office of a mediator between both
"parties: but if the States should, at any time,
"come to a better mind, and suffer their ministers to act in conjunction with her's, she
"would assert their just interests to the utmost,
"and make no farther progress in any treaty with *France*, until those allies received
"all reasonable satisfaction, both as to their barrier and their trade." The *British* plenipotentiaries were directed to give the same assurances to the *Dutch* ministers at *Utrecht*, and withal to let them know, "That the Queen was deter-
"mined,

“mined, by their late conduct, to make peace,
 “either with or without them; but would much
 “rather choose the former.”

There was, however, one advantage which her Majesty resolved to make by this defection of her foreigners. She had been led, by the mistaken politics of some years past, to involve herself in several guaranties with the princes of the North, which were, in some sort, contradictory to one another; but this conduct of theirs wholly annulled all such engagements, and left her at liberty to interpose in the affairs of those parts of *Europe*, in such a manner as would best serve the interests of her own kingdoms, as well as that of the protestant religion, and settle a due balance of power in the North.

The grand article for preventing the union of *France* and *Spain*, was to be executed during a cessation of arms. But many difficulties arising about that, and some other points of great importance to the common cause, which could not easily be adjusted, either between the *French* and *British* plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, or by correspondence between *Monf. de Torcy* and the ministry here; the Queen took the resolution of sending the Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke* immediately to *France*, fully instructed in all her intentions, and authorised to negotiate every thing necessary for settling the treaty of peace in such a course, as might bring it to a happy and speedy conclusion. He was empowered to agree to a general suspension of arms, by sea and land, between

tween *Great Britain*; *France* and *Spain*, to continue for four months, or until the conclusion of the peace; provided *France* and *Spain* would previously give positive assurances to make good the terms demanded by her Majesty for the Duke of *Savoy*, and would likewise adjust and determine the forms of the several renunciations to be made by both those crowns, in order to prevent their being ever united. The Lord *Bolingbroke* was likewise authorised to settle some differences relating to the Elector of *Bavaria*, for whose interests *France* was not so much concerned as her Majesty was for those of the Duke of *Savoy*; to explain all doubtful articles which particularly related to the advantages of *Britain*; to know the real ultimatum, as it is termed, of *France* upon the general plan of peace; and lastly, to cut off all hopes from that court, of ever bringing the Queen to force her allies to a disadvantageous peace; her Majesty resolving to impose no scheme at all upon them, or to debar them from the liberty of endeavouring to obtain the best conditions they could.

The Lord *Bolingbroke* went to *France* in the beginning of *August*, was received at court with particular marks of distinction and respect; and, in a very few days, by his usual address and ability, performed every part of his commission, extremely to the Queen's content, and his own honour. He returned to *England* before the end of the month; but Mr. *Prior*, who went along with him, was left behind, to adjust whatever differences

differences might remain, or arise between the two crowns.

In the mean time the general conferences at *Utrecht*, which for several weeks had been let fall, since the delivery of *Dunkirk*, were now resumed. But the *Dutch* still declaring against a suspension of arms, and refusing to accept the Queen's speech as a plan to negotiate upon, there was no progress made for some time in the great work of the peace. Whereupon the *British* plenipotentiaries told those of the States, "That if the Queen's endeavours could not procure more than the contents of her speech, or if the *French* should ever fall short of what was there offered, the *Dutch* could blame none but themselves, who, by their conduct, had rendered things difficult, that would otherwise have been easy." However, her Majesty thought it prudent to keep the States still in hopes of her good offices, to prevent them from taking the desperate course of leaving themselves wholly at the mercy of *France*; which was an expedient they formerly practised, and which a party among them was now inclined to advise.

Whilst the congress at *Utrecht* remained in this inactive state, the Queen proceeded to perfect that important article for preventing the union of *France* and *Spain*. It was proposed and accepted, that *Philip* should renounce *France*, for himself and his posterity; and that the most Christian King, and all the princes of his blood, should, in the like manner, renounce *Spain*.

It must be confessed, that this project of renunciation lay under a great disrepute, by the former practices of this very king, *Lewis XIV.* pursuant to an absurd notion among many in that kingdom, of a divine right, annexed to proximity of blood, not to be controlled by any human law.

But it is plain, the *French* themselves had recourse to this method, after all their infractions of it, since the *Pyrenean* treaty; for the first dauphin, in whom the original claim was vested, renounced, for himself and his eldest son, which opened the way to *Philip*, Duke of *Anjou*; who would however hardly have succeeded, if it had not been for the will made in his favour by the last king, *Charles II.*

It is indeed hard to reflect, with any patience, upon the unaccountable stupidity of the princes of *Europe* for some centuries past, who left a probability to *France* of succeeding in a few ages to all their dominions; whilst, at the same time, no alliance with that kingdom could be of advantage to any prince, by reason of the Salique law. Should not common prudence have taught every sovereign in *Christendom* to enact a Salique law, with respect to *France*; for want of which, it is almost a miracle, that the *Bourbon* family hath not possessed the universal monarchy, by right of inheritance? When the *French* assert, a proximity of blood gives a divine right, as some of their ministers, who ought to be more wise or honest, have lately advanced in this very case, to
the

the title of *Spain*; do they not, by allowing a *French* succession, make their own kings usurpers? Or, if the Salique law be divine, is it not of universal obligation, and consequently of force, to exclude *France* from inheriting by daughters? Or, lastly, if that law be of human institution, may it not be enacted in any state, with whatever extent or limitation the legislature shall think fit? For the notion of an unchangeable human law is an absurdity in government, to be believed only by ignorance, and supported by power. From hence it follows, that the children of the late Queen of *France*, although she had renounced, were as legally excluded from succeeding to *Spain*, as if the Salique law had been fundamental in that kingdom; since that exclusion was established by every power in *Spain*, which could possibly give a sanction to any law there; and therefore, the Duke of *Anjou's* title is wholly founded upon the bequest of his predecessor, (which hath great authority in that monarchy, as it formerly had in ours), upon the confirmation of the Cortes, and the general consent of the people.

It is certain, the faith of princes is so frequently subservient to their ambition, that renunciations have little validity, otherwise than from the powers and parties whose interest it is to support them. But this renunciation which the Queen hath exacted from the *French* king and his grandson, I take to be armed with all the essential circumstances that can fortify such an act. For

as it is necessary, for the security of every prince in *Europe*, that those two great kingdoms should never be united; so the chief among them will readily consent to be guarantees for preventing such a misfortune.

Besides, this proposal (according to her Majesty's expression in her speech) is of such a nature, that it executes itself; because the *Spaniards*, who dread such an union, for every reason that can have weight among men, took care that their King should not only renounce in the most solemn manner; but likewise, that the act should be framed in the strongest terms themselves could invent, or we could furnish them with. As to *France*, upon supposal of the young Dauphin's dying in a few years, that kingdom will not be in a condition to engage in a long war against a powerful alliance, fortified with the addition of the *Spaniards*, and the party of the Duke of *Berry*, or whoever else shall be next claimer; and the longer the present Dauphin lives, the weaker must *Philip's* interest be in *France*; because the Princes, who are to succeed by this renunciation, will have most power and credit in the kingdom.

The mischiefs occasioned by the want of a good understanding between the Allies, especially *Britain* and *Holland*, were raised every day; the *French* taking the advantage, and raising difficulties, not only upon the general plan of peace, but likewise upon the explanation of several articles in the projected treaty between them and her Majesty: They insisted to have *Lisle*, as the equivalent

equivalent for *Dunkirk*; and demanded *Tournay*, *Maubeuge*, and *Condé*, for the two or three towns mentioned in the Queen's speech; which the *British* plenipotentiaries were so far from allowing, that they refused to confer with those of *France* upon that foot; although, at the same time, the former had fresh apprehensions that the *Dutch*, in a fit of despair, would accept whatever terms the enemy pleased to offer, and, by precipitating their own peace, prevent her Majesty from obtaining any advantage, both for her allies and herself.

It is most certain, that the repeated losses suffered by the States, in little more than two months after they had withdrawn themselves from the Queen's assistance, did wholly disconcert their counsels; and their prudence (as it is usual) began to forsake them with their good-fortune. They were so weak as to be still deluded by their friends in *England*, who continued to give them hopes of some mighty and immediate resource from hence; for when the Duke of *Ormond* had been about a month in *Ghent*, he received a letter from the *Mareschal de Villars*, to inform him, that the *Dutch* generals taken at *Denain*, had told the *Mareschal* publicly, of a sudden revolution expected in *Britain*; that particularly the Earl of *Albemarle* and *Monf. Hompesch* discoursed very freely of it, and that nothing was more commonly talked of in *Holland*. It was then likewise confidently reported in *Ghent*, that the Queen was dead; and we all remember what rumour

flew about here at the very same time, as if her Majesty's health were in a bad condition.

Whether such vain hopes as these gave spirit to the *Dutch*; whether their frequent misfortunes made them angry and sullen; whether they still expected to over-reach us by some private stipulations with *France*, through the mediation of the Elector of *Bavaria*, as that Prince afterwards gave out; or whatever else was the cause, they utterly refused a cessation of arms; and made not the least return to all the advances and invitations made by her Majesty, until the close of the campaign.

It was then the States first began to view their affairs in another light; to consider how little the vast promises of Count *Zinzendorf* were to be relied on; to be convinced that *France* was not disposed to break with her Majesty, only to gratify their ill-humour, or unreasonable demands; to discover that their factious correspondents on this side the water, had shamefully misled them; that some of their own principal towns grew heartily weary of the war, and backward in their loans; and, lastly, that Prince *Eugene*, their new general, whether his genius or fortune had left him, was not for their turn. They, therefore, directed their ministers at *Utrecht* to signify to the Lord Privy-Seal and the Earl of *Strafford*,
“ That the States were disposed to comply with
“ her Majesty, and to desire her good offices with
“ *France*; particularly, that *Tournay* and *Condé*
“ might be left to them as part of their Barrier,
“ without

“ without which they could not be safe : That
 “ the Elector of *Bavaria* might not be suffered
 “ to retain any town in the *Netherlands*, which
 “ would be as bad for *Holland* as if those places
 “ were in the hands of *France* : Therefore the
 “ States proposed, that *Luxembourg*, *Namur*,
 “ *Charleroy*, and *Nieuport*, might be delivered to
 “ the Emperor. Lastly, That the *French* might
 “ not insist on excepting the four species of goods
 “ out of the Tariff of 1664 : That if her Majesty
 “ could prevail with *France* to satisfy their Mas-
 “ ters on these articles, they would be ready to
 “ submit in all the rest.”

When the Queen received an account of this good disposition in the States-General, immediately orders were sent to Mr. *Prior*, to inform the ministers of the *French* court, “ That her Majesty had now some hopes of the *Dutch* complying with her measures; and therefore she resolved, as she had always declared, whenever those Allies came to themselves, not to make the peace without their reasonable satisfaction.” The difficulty that most pressed, was about the disposal of *Tournay* and *Condé*. The *Dutch* insisted strongly to have both; and the *French* were extremely unwilling to part with either.

The Queen judged the former would suffice, for completing the barrier of the States. Mr. *Prior* was therefore directed to press the Marquis *de Torcy* effectually on this head, and to terminate all that minister's objections, by assuring him
 of

of her Majesty's resolutions to appear openly on the side of the *Dutch*, if this demand were refused. It was thought convenient to act in this resolute manner with *France*, whose late success against *Holland*, had taught the ministers of the most Christian King to resume their old imperious manner of treating with that republick; to which they were farther encouraged by the ill understanding between her Majesty and the Allies.

This appeared from the result of an idle quarrel that happened, about the end of *August*, at *Utrecht*, between a *French* and a *Dutch* plenipotentiary, *Monf. Mesnager* and *Count Rechteren*; wherein the court of *France* demanded such abject submissions, and with so much haughtiness, as plainly shewed they were pleased with any occasion of mortifying the *Dutch*.

Besides, the politicks of the *French* ran at this time very opposite to those of *Britain*: They thought the ministers here durst not meet the parliament without a peace; and that, therefore, her Majesty would either force the States to comply with *France*, by delivering up *Tournay*, which was the principal point in dispute; or would finish her own peace with *France* and *Spain*, leaving a fixed time for *Holland* to refuse or accept the terms imposed on them. But the Queen, who thought the demand of *Tournay* by the States to be very necessary and just, was determined to insist upon it, and to declare openly against *France*, rather than suffer her Ally to want a place so useful for their barrier. And Mr. *Prior* was ordered to signify

nify this resolution of her Majesty to *Monf. de Torcy*, in case that Minister could not be otherwise prevailed on.

The *British* plenipotentiaries did likewise, at the same time, express to those of *Holland*, her Majesty's great satisfaction, that the States were at last disposed to act in confidence with her: "That she wished this resolution had been sooner taken, since nobody had gained by the delay, but the *French King*; that, however, her Majesty did not question the procuring a safe and honourable peace, by united counsels, reasonable demands, and prudent measures; that she would assist them in getting whatever was necessary to their barrier, and in settling, to their satisfaction, the exceptions made by *France* out of the *Tariff of 1664*; that no other difficulties remained of moment to retard the peace, since the Queen had obtained *Sicily* for the Duke of *Savoy*; and, in the settlement of the *Low-Countries*, would adhere to what she delivered from the throne: That as to the Empire, her Majesty heartily wished their Barrier as good as could be desired; but that we were not now in circumstances to expect every thing exactly according to the scheme of *Holland*: *France* had already offered a great part, and the Queen did not think the remainder worth the continuance of the war."

Her Majesty conceived the peace in so much forwardness, that she thought fit, about this time, to nominate the Duke of *Hamilton* and the Lord

Lexington

Lexington for ambassadors in *France* and *Spain*, to receive the renunciations in both courts, and adjust matters of commerce.

The Duke was preparing for his journey, when he was challenged to a duel by the Lord *Mobun*, a person of infamous character. He killed his adversary upon the spot, though he himself received a wound; and, weakened by the loss of blood, as he was leaning in the arms of his second, was most barbarously stabbed in the breast by lieutenant-general *Macartney*, who was second to Lord *Mobun*. He died a few minutes after in the field, and the murderer made his escape. I thought so surprising an event might deserve barely to be related, although it be something foreign to my subject.

The Earl of *Strafford*, who had come to *England* in last, in order to give her Majesty an account of the disposition of affairs in *Holland*, was now returning with her last instructions, to let the *Dutch* minister know, “ That some
 “ points would probably meet with difficulties
 “ not to be overcome, which once might have been
 “ easily obtained: To shew what evil consequences had already flowed from their delay
 “ and irresolution, and to intreat them to fix on
 “ some proposition, reasonable in itself, as well
 “ as possible to be effected: That the Queen would
 “ insist upon the cession of *Tournay* by *France*,
 “ provided the States would concur in finishing
 “ the peace, without starting new objections, or
 “ insisting upon farther points: That the *French*
 “ demands,

" demands, in favour of the Elector of *Bavaria*,
 " appeared to be such as, the Queen was of opi-
 " nion, the States ought to agree to; which were,
 " to leave the Elector in possession of *Luxem-*
 " *bourg*, *Namur*, and *Charleroy*, subject to the
 " terms of their Barrier, until he should be re-
 " stored to his electorate; and to give him the
 " kingdom of *Sardinia* to efface the stain of his
 " degradation in the Electoral College: That the
 " Earl had brought over a project of a new treaty
 " of Succession and Barrier, which her Majesty
 " insisted the States should sign, before the con-
 " clusion of the peace; the former treaty having
 " been disadvantageous to her subjects, contain-
 " ing in it the seeds of future dissensions, and
 " condemned by the sense of the nation. Lastly,
 " That her Majesty, notwithstanding all provoca-
 " tions, had, for the sake of the *Dutch*, and in
 " hopes of their recovery from those false notions
 " which had so long misled them, hitherto kept
 " the negotiations open: That the offers now
 " made them were her last, and this the last time
 " she would apply to them: That they must ei-
 " ther agree, or expect the Queen would proceed
 " immediately to conclude her treaty with *France*
 " and *Spain*, in conjunction with such of her Al-
 " lies as would think fit to adhere to her."

" As to *Savoy*, that the Queen expected the
 " States would concur with her in making good
 " the advantages stipulated for that Duke, and in
 " prevailing with the Emperor to consent to an
 " absolute

“absolute neutrality in *Italy*, until the peace should be concluded.”

The governing party in *Holland*, however in appearance disposed to finish, affected new delays, and raised many difficulties about the four species of goods, which the *French* had excepted out of the Tariff. Count *Zinzendorf*, the Emperor’s plenipotentiary, did all that was possible to keep up this humour in the *Dutch*, in hopes to put them under a necessity of preparing for the next campaign; and, some time after, went so far in this pursuit, that he summoned the several ministers of the Empire; told them he had letters from his master, with orders to signify to them, “That his Imperial Majesty resolved to begin the campaign early, with all his forces united against *France*; of which he desired they would send notice to all their courts, that the several princes might be ready to furnish their contingents and recruits.” At the same time, *Zinzendorf* endeavoured to borrow two millions of florins upon the security of some imperial cities; but could not succeed either amongst the Jews or at *Amsterdam*.

When the Earl of *Strafford* arrived at *Utrecht*, the Lord Privy-Seal and he communicated to the *Dutch* ministers the new treaty for a Succession and Barrier, as the Queen had ordered it to be prepared here in *England*, differing from the former in several points of the greatest moment, obvious to any who will be at the pains to compare them. This was strenuously opposed for several weeks

weeks by the plenipotentiaries of the States; but the province of *Utrecht*, where the congress was held, immediately sent orders to their representatives at the *Hague*, to declare their province thankful to the Queen; that they agreed the peace should be made on the terms proposed by *France*, and consented to the new projected treaty of Barrier and Succession: And about the close of the year 1712, four of the seven provinces, had delivered their opinions for putting an end to the war.

This unusual precipitation in the States, so different from the whole tenour of their former conduct, was very much suspected by the *British* plenipotentiaries. Their Lordships had received intelligence, that the *Dutch* ministers held frequent conferences with those of *France*, and had offered to settle their interests with that crown, without the concurrence of *Britain*. Count *Zinzendorf*, and his colleagues, appeared likewise, all on a sudden, to have the same dispositions, and to be in great haste to settle their several differences with the States. The reasons for this proceeding were visible enough. Many difficulties were yet undetermined in the treaty of commerce between her Majesty and *France*, for the adjusting of which, and some other points, the Queen had lately dispatched the Duke of *Shrewsbury* to that court. Some of these were of hard digestion, with which the most Christian King would not be under a necessity of complying when he had no farther occasion for us, and might, upon that account,

count, afford better terms to the other two powers. Besides, the Emperor and the States could very well spare her Majesty the honour of being arbitrator of a general peace; and the latter hoped by this means, to avoid the new Treaty of Barrier and Succession, which we were now forcing on them.

To prevent the consequences of this evil, there fortunately fell out an incident which the two Lords at *Utrecht*, knew well to make use of. The quarrel between Monsieur *Mefnager* and Count *Rechteren* (formerly mentioned) had not yet been made up. The *French* and *Dutch* differing in some circumstances, about the satisfaction to be given by the Count for the affront he had offered, the *British* plenipotentiaries kept this dispute on foot for several days; and, in the mean time, pressed the *Dutch* to finish the new treaty of Barrier and Succession between her Majesty and them, which, about the middle of *January*, was concluded fully to the Queen's satisfaction.

But while these debates and differences continued at the congress, the Queen resolved to put a speedy end to her part in the war. She therefore sent orders to the Lord Privy-Seal, and the Earl of *Strafford*, to prepare every thing necessary for signing her own treaty with *France*. This she hoped might be done against the meeting of her parliament, now prorogued to the third of *February*; in which time, those among the Allies, who were really inclined towards a peace, might settle their several interests by the assistance and support
of

of her Majesty's plenipotentiaries; and as for the rest, who would either refuse to comply, or endeavour to protract the negociation, the heads of their respective demands, which *France* had yielded by her Majesty's intervention, and agreeable to the plan laid down in her speech, should be mentioned in the treaty, and a time limited for the several powers concerned to receive or reject them.

The Pretender was not yet gone out of *France*, upon some difficulties alledged by the *French*, about procuring him a safe conduct to *Bar-le-duc*, in the Duke of *Lorrain's* dominions, where it was then proposed he should reside. The Queen, altogether bent upon quieting the minds of her subjects, declared, she would not sign the peace till that person were removed; although several wise men believed he could be no where less dangerous to *Britain*, than in the place where he was.

The argument which most prevailed on the States to sign the new treaty of Barrier and Succession with *Britain*, was her Majesty's promise to procure *Tournay* for them from *France*; after which, no more differences remained between us and that Republic, and consequently they had no farther temptations to any separate transactions with the *French*, who thereupon began to renew their litigious and haughty manner of treating with the *Dutch*. The satisfaction they extorted for the affront given by Count *Rechteren* to Monsieur *Mefnager*, although somewhat softened by the *British* ministers at *Utrecht*, was yet so rigorous, that her

Majesty could not forbear signifying her resentment of it to the most Christian King. Monsieur *Mesnager*, who seemed to have more the genius of a merchant than a minister, began, in his conferences with the plenipotentiaries of the States, to raise new disputes upon points which both we and they had reckoned upon as wholly settled. The Abbé *de Polignac*, a most accomplished person, of great generosity and universal understanding, was gone to *France* to receive the Cardinal's cap; and the Marechal *de Huxelles*, was wholly guided by his colleague, Mons. *Mesnager*, who kept up those brangles, that for a time obstructed the peace; some of which were against all justice, and others of small importance, both of very little advantage to his country, and less to the reputation of his master or himself. This low talent in business, which the Cardinal *de Polignac* used, in contempt, to call a *Spirit of Negotiating*, made it impossible for the two Lords Plenipotentiaries, with all their abilities and experience, to bring *Mesnager* to reason, in several points, both with us and the States. His concessions were few and constrained, serving only to render him more tenacious of what he refused. In several of the towns, which the States were to keep, he insisted that *France* should retain the Chatellanies, or extent of country depending on them, particularly that of *Tournay*; a demand the more unjustifiable, because he knew his master had not only proceeded directly contrary, but had erected a court in his kingdom, where his own judges extended

tended the territories about those towns he had taken, as far as he pleased to direct them. Monsieur *Mefnager* shewed equal obstinacy in what his master expected for the Elector of *Bavaria*, and in refusing the Tariff of 1664: So that the Queen's plenipotentiaries represented these difficulties as what might be of dangerous consequence, both to the peace in general, and to the States in particular, if they were not speedily prevented.

Upon these considerations, her Majesty thought it her shortest and safest course to apply directly to *France*, where she had then so able a minister as the Duke of *Shrewsbury*.

The Marquis *de Torcy*, secretary to the most Christian King, was the minister with whom the Duke was to treat, as having been the first who moved his master to apply to the Queen for a peace, in opposition to a violent faction in that kingdom, who were as eagerly bent to continue the war, as any other could be, either here or in *Holland*.

It would be very unlike an historian, to refuse this great minister the praise he so justly deserveth, of having treated, through the whole course of so great a negociation, with the utmost candour and integrity; never once failing in any promise he made, and tempering a firm zeal to his master's interest, with a ready compliance to what was reasonable and just. Mr. *Prior*, whom I have formerly mentioned, resided likewise now at *Paris*, with the character of minister plenipotentiary,

ry, and was very acceptable to that court, upon the score of his wit and humour.

The Duke of *Shrewsbury* was directed to press the *French* court upon the points yet unsettled in the treaty of commerce between both crowns; to make them drop their unreasonable demands for the Elector of *Bavaria*; to let them know, that the Queen was resolved not to forsake her allies, who were now ready to come in; that she thought the best way of hastening the general peace, was to determine her own particular one with *France*, until which time she could not conveniently suffer her parliament to meet.

The States were, by this time, so fully convinced of the Queen's sincerity and affection to their republic, and how much they had been deceived by the insinuations of the factious party in *England*, that they wrote a very humble letter to her Majesty, to desire her assistance towards settling those points they had in dispute with *France*, and professing themselves ready to acquiesce in whatever explanation her Majesty would please to make of the plan proposed in her speech to the parliament.

But the Queen had already prevented their desires; and in the beginning of *February* 1712-13, directed the Duke of *Shrewsbury* to inform the *French* court, "That since she had prevailed on
"her allies, the *Dutch*, to drop the demand of
"Condé, and the other of the four species of goods,
"which the *French* had excepted out of the tariff
"of 1664, she would not sign without them:
"that

“ that she approved of the *Dutch* insisting to have
 “ the *Chatellanies* restored with the towns, and
 “ was resolved to stand or fall with them, until
 “ they were satisfied in this point.”

Her Majesty had some apprehensions, that the *French* created these difficulties, on purpose to spin out the treaty, until the campaign should begin. They thought it absolutely necessary, that our parliament should meet in a few weeks, which could not well be ventured, until the Queen were able to tell both houses, that her own peace was signed: that this would not only facilitate what remained in difference between *Britain* and *France*, but leave the *Dutch* entirely at the mercy of the latter.

The Queen, weary of these refined mistakes in the *French* politics, and fully resolved to be trifled with no longer, sent her determinate orders to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, to let *France* know,
 “ That her Majesty had hitherto prorogued her
 “ parliament, in hopes of accommodating the dif-
 “ ficulties in her own treaties of peace and com-
 “ merce with that crown, as well as settling the
 “ interests of her several allies; or, at least, that
 “ the differences in the former being removed,
 “ the most Christian King would have made such
 “ offers for the latter, as might justify her Ma-
 “ jesty in signing her own peace, whether the con-
 “ federates intended to sign theirs or no. But
 “ several points being yet unfinished between
 “ both crowns, and others between *France* and
 “ the rest of the allies, especially the States, to
 “ which

“ which the plenipotentiaries of that court at
 “ *Utrecht* had not thought fit to give satisfaction;
 “ the Queen was now come to a final determi-
 “ nation, both with relation to her own king-
 “ doms, and to the whole alliance: that the cam-
 “ paign approaching, she would not willingly be
 “ surpris’d in case the war was to go on: that
 “ she had transmitted to the Duke of *Shrews-*
 “ *bury* her last resolutions, and never would be
 “ prevail’d on to reduce her own demands, or
 “ those of her allies, any lower than the scheme
 “ now sent over, as an explanation of the plan
 “ laid down in her speech: that her Majesty had
 “ sent orders to her plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*,
 “ to assume the character of ambassadors, and
 “ sign the peace immediately with the ministers
 “ of the most Christian King, as soon as the
 “ Duke of *Shrewsbury* should have sent them no-
 “ tice that the *French* had complied: that the
 “ Queen had therefore farther prorogued her par-
 “ liament to the third of *March*, in hopes to as-
 “ sure them, by that time, of her peace being a-
 “ greed on; for if the two houses should meet,
 “ while any uncertainty remained, supplies must
 “ be asked as for a war.”

The Duke of *Shrewsbury* executed this impor-
 tant commission with that speed and success,
 which could only be expected from an able mi-
 nister. The *French* King immediately yielded
 to the whole scheme her Majesty propos’d; where-
 upon directions were sent to the Lord Privy-Seal,

and

and the Earl of *Strafford*, to sign a peace between *Great Britain* and *France*, without delay.

Upon the second day of *March*, the two *British* plenipotentiaries met those of the allies, in the town-house at *Utrecht*; where the Lord Privy-Seal addressed himself to them in a short speech, "That the negociation had now continued fourteen months with great slowness, which had proved very injurious to the interests of the allies: that the Queen had staid thus long, and stopped the finishing her own peace, rather than leave her allies in any uncertainty: that she hoped they would now be all prepared to put an end to this great work; and therefore, had commanded her plenipotentiaries to tell those of the allies, that she found it necessary to conclude her own treaty immediately; and it was her opinion, that the confederates ought to finish theirs at the same time, to which they were now accordingly invited by her Majesty's orders." And lastly, his Lordship declared, in the Queen's name, "That whoever could not be ready on the day prefixed, should have a convenient time allowed them to come in."

Although the orders sent by the Queen to her plenipotentiaries were very precise, yet their lordships did not precipitate the performance of them. They were directed to appoint as short a day for the signing as they conveniently could: but, however, the particular day was left to their discretion. They hoped to bring over the *Dutch*, and most of the other allies, to conclude at the same

same time with the Queen: which, as it would certainly be more popular to their country, so they conceived it would be more safe for themselves: besides, upon looking over their commission, a scruple sprang in their minds, that they could not sign a particular peace with *France*; their powers, as they apprehended, authorising them only to sign a general one. Their lordships therefore sent to *England* to desire new powers, and, in the mean time, employed themselves with great industry, between the ministers of *France*, and those of the several allies, to find some expedient for smoothing the way to an agreement among them.

The Earl of *Strafford* went for a few days to the *Hague*, to inform the States of her Majesty's express commands to his colleague and himself, for signing the peace as soon as possible; and to desire they would be ready at the same time, which the pensionary promised; and that their plenipotentiaries should be empowered accordingly, to the great contentment of *Monf. Buys*, who was now so much altered, either in reality, or appearance, that he complained to the Earl, of *Monf. Heinsius's* slowness; and charged all the delays and mismanagements of a twelvemonth past, to that minister's account.

While the Earl of *Strafford* staid at the *Hague*, he discovered, that an emissary of the Duke of *Marlborough's* had been there some days before, sent by his Grace to dissuade the *Dutch* from signing at the same time with the ministers of
the

the Queen, which in *England*, would at least have the appearance of a separate peace, and oblige their *British* friends, who knew how to turn so short a delay to very good account, as well as gratify the Emperor; on whom, it was alledged, they ought to rely much more than on her Majesty. One of the States likewise told the Earl, "That the same person, employed by the Duke, " was then in conference with the magistrates of " *Rotterdam* (which town had declared for the " continuance of the war), to assure them, if " they would hold off a little, they should see an " unexpected turn in the *British* parliament: " that the Duke of *Marlborough* had a list of the " discontented members in both houses, who " were ready to turn against the court; and, to " crown all, that his Grace had certain intelligence of the Queen being in so ill a state of " health, as made it impossible for her to live above six weeks." So restless and indefatigable is avarice and ambition, when inflamed by a desire of revenge.

But representations, which had been so often tried, were now offered too late. Most of the allies, except the Emperor, were willing to put an end to the war upon her Majesty's plan; and the further delay of three weeks must be chiefly imputed to that litigious manner of treating, peculiar to the *French*; whose plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* insisted with obstinacy upon many points, which at *Paris* *Monf. de Torcy* had given up.

The Emperor expected to keep all he already possessed

possessed in *Italy*; that *Portlongue* on the *Tuscan* coast, should be delivered up to him by *France*; and lastly, that he should not be obliged to renounce *Spain*. But the Queen, as well as *France*, thought that his Imperial Majesty ought to sit down contented with his partage of *Naples* and *Milan*; and to restore those territories in *Italy*, which he had taken from the rightful proprietors, and by the possession of which he was grown dangerous to the *Italian* princes, by reviving antiquated claims upon them.

This prince had likewise objected to her Majesty's expedient of suffering the Elector of *Bavaria* to retain *Luxembourg*, under certain conditions, by way of security, until his electorate were restored. But the Queen, supposing that these affected delays were intended only with a view of continuing the war, resolved to defer the peace no longer on the Emperor's account.

In the middle of March 1712-13, a courier arrived at *Utrecht*, from *France*, with the plan of a general peace, as it had been agreed between the Duke of *Shrewsbury* and *Monf. de Torcy*; wherein every particular, relating to the interests and pretensions of the several allies, was brought so near to what each of them would accept, that the *British* plenipotentiaries hoped the peace would be general in ten or twelve days. The *Portuguese* and *Dutch* were already prepared, and others were daily coming in, by means of their Lordships good offices, who found *Monf. Mefnager* and his colleague very stubborn to the last. An-
other

other courier was dispatched to *France*, upon some disputes about inserting the titles of her Majesty and the most Christian King, and to bring a general plan for the interests of those allies, who should not be ready against the time prefixed. The *French* renunciations were now arrived at *Utrecht*; and it was agreed, that those, as well as that of the King of *Spain*, should be inserted at length in every treaty, by which means the whole confederacy would become guarantees of them.

The courier, last sent to *France*, returned to *Utrecht* on the twenty-seventh of *March*, with the concessions of that court upon every necessary point; so that, all things being ready for putting a period to this great and difficult work, the Lord Privy-Seal and the Earl of *Strafford* gave notice to the ministers of the several allies, "That their Lordships had appointed *Tuesday* the thirty-first instant, wherein to sign a treaty of peace, and a treaty of commerce, between the Queen of *Great Britain*, their mistress, and the most Christian King; and hoped the said allies would be prepared, at the same time, to follow their example." Accordingly, their Lordships employed the three intervening days, in smoothing the few difficulties that remained between the *French* ministers and those of the several confederate powers.

The important day being now come, the Lord Bishop of *Bristol*, and the Earl of *Strafford*, having assumed the character of ambassadors extra-

ordinary, gave a memorial in behalf of the *French* protestants to the *Mareschal de Huxelles* and his colleague, who were to transmit it to their court; and these delivered to the *British* ambassadors a declaration in writing, that the Pretender was actually gone out of *France*.

The conditions of peace to be allowed the Emperor and the Empire, as adjusted between *Britain* and *France*, were now likewise delivered to the Count *Zinzendorf*. These, and some other previous matters of smaller consequence, being finished, the treaties of peace and commerce between her Majesty of *Great Britain* and the most Christian King, were signed at the Lord Privy-Seal's house, between two and three of the clock in the afternoon. The ministers of the Duke of *Savoy* signed about an hour after. Then the assembly adjourned to the Earl of *Strafford's*, where they all went to dinner; and about nine at night the peace was signed by the ministers of *Portugal*, by those of *Prussia* at eleven, and when it was near midnight by the States.

Thus, after all the opposition raised by a strong party in *France*, and by a virulent faction in *Britain*; after all the artifices of those who presided at the *Hague*, and, for their private interest, endeavoured, in conjunction with their friends in *England* to prolong the war; after the restless endeavours of the Imperial court to render the treaty ineffectual; the firm, steady conduct of the Queen, the wisdom and courage of her ministry, and the abilities of those whom she employed

employed in her negotiations abroad, prevailed to have a peace signed in one day by every power concerned, except that of the Emperor and the Empire; for his Imperial Majesty liked his situation too well to think of a peace, while the drudgery and expences of the war lay upon other shoulders, and the advantages were to redound only to himself.

During this whole negociation, the King of Spain, who was not acknowledged by any of the confederates, had consequently no minister at *Utrecht*; but the differences between her Majesty and that Prince were easily settled by the Lord *Lexington* at *Madrid*, and the Marquis of *Monteleon* here; so that upon the Duke *D'Ossuna's* arrival at the congress, some days after the peace, he was ready to conclude a treaty between the Queen and his Master. Neither is it probable that the *Dutch*, or any other ally, except the Emperor, will encounter any difficulties of moment, to retard their several treaties with his Catholic Majesty.

The treaties of peace and commerce between *Britain* and *France*, were ratified here on the seventh of *April*; on the twenty-eighth the ratifications were exchanged; and on the fifth of *May* the peace was proclaimed in the usual manner; but with louder acclamations, and more extraordinary rejoicings of the people, than had ever been remembered on the like occasion.

The REIGN of
WILLIAM the SECOND,
 SURNAMED RUFUS.

AT the time of the Conqueror's death, his eldest son *Robert*, upon some discontent with his father, being absent in *France*, * *William*, the second son, made use of this juncture; and, without attending his father's funeral, hastened to *England*, where, pursuant to the will of the deceased prince, † the nobility, although more inclined to favour *Robert*, were prevailed with to admit him king, partly by his promises to abate the rigour of the late reign, and restore the laws and liberties which had been then abolished, but chiefly by the credit and solicitations of *Lanfranc*; for that prelate had formerly a share in his education, and always a great affection for his person.

At

* He was then at Abbeville in Picardy.

† William the Conqueror on his death-bed left Normandy and Le Maine to his son Robert, as being his right of inheritance; not without adding, as some historians relate, that any people, whom Robert was to govern, would be miserable. England, he said, was not his property by inheritance; he would not presume to bequeath to any one that kingdom, but left it to the disposal of Heaven: however, so it pleased God, he should be glad that William, his obedient and best beloved son, should enjoy it after his death, and accordingly ordered letters to be expedited to archbishop Lanfranc, for facilitating William's accession and establishment there.

At *Winshester* he took possession of his father's treasure, * in obedience to whose command, as well as to ingratiate himself with the people, he distributed it among churches and religious houses, and applied it to the redeeming of prisoners, and other acts of popularity.

In the mean time *Robert* returned to *Normandy*, took possession of that dutchy, with great applause and content of his people, and, spited at the indignity done him by his father, and the usurpation of his brother in consequence thereof, prepared a great fleet and army to invade *England*; nor did there want an occasion to promote his interest, if the slowness, the softness, and credulity of his nature, could have suffered him to make a right improvement of it.

Odo, bishop of *Baieux*, † of whom frequent mention is made in the preceding reign, ‡ a prelate of incurable ambition, either on account of his age or character, being restored to his liberty and possessions in *England*, grew into envy and discontent, upon seeing *Lanfranc* preferred before him by the new king in his favour and ministry. He therefore formed a conspiracy with several nobles of *Norman* birth to depose the king, and

Y 3

sent

* Which was sixty thousand pounds in silver, besides gold, jewels, and plate. *Brompton*.

† *Odo* was half brother to *William the Conqueror*, and the first earl of *Kent* of *Norman* blood. He was released from his confinement by order of the late king, at the solicitation of *Robert* earl of *Mortain*, *Odo's* brother.

‡ One might imagine from these words, that *Dr. Swift* had written an account of the reign of *William the Conqueror*, if it had not been for what he says in his letter to Count *Gyllenberg*.

sent an invitation to *Robert* to hasten over. Mean time the conspirators, in order to distract the king's forces, seized on several parts of *England* at once; *Bristol*, *Norwich*, *Leicester*, *Worcester*, & *Shrewsbury*, *Bath* and *Durham*, were secured by several noblemen: *Odo* himself seized *Rocheſter*, reduced the coaſts of *Kent*, and ſent meſſages to *Robert* to make all poſſible ſpeed.

The king, alarmed at theſe many and ſudden defections, thought it his beſt courſe to begin his defence by ſecuring the good will of the people. He redreſſed many grievances, eaſed them of certain oppreſſive taxes and tributes, gave liberty to hunt in his foreſt, with other marks of indulgence, which, however forced from him by the neceſſity of the time, he had the ſkill or fortune ſo to order, as they neither loſt their good grace nor effect; for immediately after, he raiſed great forces both by land and ſea, marched into *Kent*, where the chief body of his enemies was in arms, recovered *Tunbridge* and *Pevenſey*, in the latter of which *Odo* himſelf was taken priſoner, and forced to accompany the king to *Rocheſter*. This city reſuſing to ſurrender at the king's ſummons, *Odo* undertook to prevail with the obſtinacy of the inhabitants; but being admitted into the town, was there detained, either by a real or ſeeming force: however, the king, provoked at their ſtubbornneſs and fraud, ſoon compelled them to yield, retook his

§ *Worceſter* however at this time ſuffered only a blockade. See the account of the operations there in *Green's late ſurvey of the city of Worcester*, p. 195.

his prisoner, and forcing him for ever to abjure *England*, sent him into *Normandy*.

By these actions, performed with such great celerity and success, the preparations of duke *Robert* were wholly disappointed; himself, by the necessity of his affairs, compelled * to a treaty with his brother, upon the terms of a small pension, and a mutual promise of succeeding to each other's dominions on failure of issue, forced to resign his pretensions, and return with a shattered fleet to *Normandy*.

About this time died archbishop *Lanfranc*; by whose death the king, loosed from that awe and constraint he was under, soon began to discover those irregularities of his nature, which till then he had suppressed and disguised, falling into those acts

* *Samuel Daniel*, a very judicious epitomizer of our ancient history, places the conclusion of this treaty in 1087, soon after the establishment of *Rufus* on the *English* throne, who might well think such an expedient necessary at that time, for the reconciling an elder brother to the most mortifying of disappointments. If the treaty was then made, *Robert's* infraction of it, by an embarkation of troops in the very next year to succour the *English* rebels, was a plausible call for revenge, and accounts for the king's invasion of *Normandy* in 1090. *Speed*, whom Dr. *Swift* follows here, has been so far misled by *Knighton*, as to represent *Robert* making an actual descent on the *English* coast, landing at *Southampton*, amused there by humble messages from *Rufus*, cajoled into a resignation of his claim, and induced to go back a pensioner instead of a king. But there is no trace of such transactions in the purer narratives of more ancient historians. And if we follow those of *Normandy*, who ought to have the best information of *Robert's* motions, the duke neither embarked with, nor after his troops: he promised indeed to follow them with a greater force; but *indolence* got the better of his ambition.

acts of oppression and extortion that have made his name and memory infamous. He kept the see of *Canterbury* four years vacant, and converted the revenues to his own use, together with those of several other bishopricks and abbies, * and disposed all church preferments to the highest bidder. Nor were his exactions less upon the laity, from whom he continually extorted exorbitant fines for pretended transgression of certain penal laws, and entertained informers to observe mens actions and bring him intelligence.

It is here worth observation, that these corrupt proceedings of the prince have, in the opinion of several learned men, given rise to two customs, which are a long time grown to have the force of laws. For, first, the successors of this king, continuing the custom of seizing on the accruing rents in the vacancy of sees and abbies, it grew in process of time to be exacted as a right, or acknowledgment to the king as founder; whence the revenues of vacant bishopricks belong at this day to the crown. The second custom had an original not unlike. Several persons, to avoid the persecutions of the king's informers, and other instruments

* As for *Rufus's* appropriating to himself the revenues of vacant sees, this was the result and expected consequence of the feudal establishment made by his father. For when the Conqueror had reduced episcopal and abbacial manours to military and baronial tenure, the care and profits of them, between the demise of each tenant and the entry or installation of his successor, by necessity of that tenure, devolved on the crown. But *Rufus* is deservedly censured for keeping the prelacies vacant longer than was necessary, merely with an avaricious view.

ments of oppression, withdrew themselves and their effects to foreign countries; upon which the king issued a proclamation, forbidding all men to leave the kingdom without his licence; from whence, in the judgment of the same authors, the writ *ne exeas regno* had its beginning.

By these, and the like arbitrary methods, having amassed great treasures, and finding all things quiet at home, he raised a powerful army to invade his brother in *Normandy*; but upon what ground or pretext, the writers of that age are not very exact; whether it were from a principle frequent among unjust princes, That old oppressions are best justified by new; or, whether, having a talent for sudden enterprises, and justly apprehending the resentments of duke *Robert*, he thought it the wiser course to prevent injuries, than to revenge them. In this expedition he took several cities and castles from his brother, and would have proceeded farther, if *Robert* had not desired and obtained the assistance of *Philip* king of *France*, who came with an army to his relief. King *William* not thinking it safe or prudent to proceed further against his enemy supported by so great an ally, yet loath to lose the fruits of his time and valour, fell upon a known and old expedient, which no prince ever practised oftener, or with greater success, and that was, to buy off the *French* king with a sum of money. This had its effect; for that prince, not able to oppose such powerful armies, immediately withdrew himself and his forces,

forces, leaving the two brothers to concert the measures of a peace.

This was treated and agreed with great advantages on the side of king *William*; for he kept all the towns he had taken, obliged his brother to banish *Edgar Atheling* out of *Normandy*, and, for a further security, brought over with him to *England* the duke himself, to attend him in his expedition against *Malcolm* king of *Scotland*, who, during his absence, had invaded the borders. The king having raised great forces both by sea and land, went in person to repel the inroads of the *Scots*: but the enterprize was without success; for the greatest part of his fleet was destroyed by a tempest, and his army very much diminished by sickness and famine, which forced him to a peace of little honour; by which, upon the condition of homage from that prince, the king of *England* agreed to deliver him up those twelve towns (or manours) in *England*, which *Malcolm* had held under *William the Conqueror*; together with a pension of twelve thousand marks*.

At

* So *Brompton* writes. But it is doubtful whether the *Normanic* or *Saxonic* mark of silver be understood. The former was a weight of eight ounces, the latter but an ounce and a half. If we compute by the mark of the *Normans*, the annuity stipulated for *Malcolm* was equivalent to about 186,000 l. of modern currency; a pension scarce reconcilable with the state of our exchequer in those days. If the smaller or *Saxonic* mark be meant here (which had not yet fallen into disuse, as appears by the calculations by it in the laws of king *Henry I.*) the pension is more reasonable, being equivalent to about 35,000 l. of our present

At this time were sown the seeds of another quarrel between him and duke *Robert*, who, soliciting the king to perform some covenants of the last peace, and meeting with a repulse, withdrew in great discontent to *Normandy*.

King *William*, in his return from *Scotland*, fell dangerously sick at *Glocester*; where, moved by the seasonable exhortations of his clergy, or rather by the fears of dying, he began to discover great marks of repentance, with many promises of amendment and retribution, particularly for his injuries to the church. To give credit to which good resolutions, he immediately filled several vacant sees, giving that of *Canterbury* to *Anselm*, a foreigner of great fame for piety and learning. But as it is the disposition of men who derive their vices from their complexions, that their passions usually beat strong and weak with their pulses, so it fared with this prince, who, upon recovery of his health, soon forgot the vows he had made in his sickness, relapsing with greater violence into the same irregularities of injustice and oppression; whereof *Anselm*, the new archbishop, felt the first effects. This prelate, soon after his promotion, offered the king a sum of money by way

sent money. This at least is rather to be admitted than the account of the greater part of our historians, who set down the provision made for the *Scottish* king at *twelve marks of gold per annum*, which amounts to but 72 *lb. Norman*, or 1700 *l.* in modern money; a pension unworthy the magnificence of *Rufus*, and too mean for any reigning Prince to accept.

way of present; * but took care it should be so small, that none might interpret it to be a consideration

* This whole account of the difference between the king and the archbishop is taken from *Eadmer*, a monk of *Canterbury*, and a creature of *Anselm's*. A benevolence had been demanded from all the nobility and the prelates towards the expence of the king's expedition to *Normandy* in 1094. If *Anselm*, as it is said, offered 500 l. towards it, as the share or quota of his own fee, that sum (equivalent to at least 11,500 l. of our currency) was far greater than a poor *Italian* monk, not yet possessed of the temporalities of *Canterbury*, could be expected to raise, and what, if his friends could advance it for him, the necessities of the king would not suffer him to reject: so that this part of *Eadmer's* apology for his patron confutes itself. But in fact, the true source of the contest between this prelate and the king, was, the former's violent attachment to one of the contenders for the papacy, *Otho* of *Ostia*, styled *Urban II.* whom, when *Italy* had scarce acknowledged him, (for in 1091 the antipope *Clement III.* took *Rome*, and the castle of *St. Angelo*, and drove *Urban* from *St. Peter's* chair) *Anselm* would imperiously impose on the king, prelates, and whole realm of *England*, as their apostolic father and pontiff. The king replied, that his predecessors in *Canterbury* had never taken so much upon them; and that when two popes had been chosen, his declaring for either without the approbation of the king, was an endeavour to pluck from his sovereign's head the crown of *England*. A great council was summoned on this occasion at *Rockingham*, Mar. 11, 1095, when the nobility and bishops insisted on *Anselm's* submission to the king: he pleaded his privilege as primate, and would be judged by none but the pope, and by no pope but *Urban II.* It was however there determined, that *Anselm* should not demand his archiepiscopal pall of *Urban II.* unless the king should consent. All the prelates, except the bishop of *Rocheſter*, says *Du Pin*, resolved not to own *Anselm* as primate, so long as he should take part with the bishop of *Ostia* (*Urban II.*) But a rebellion which broke out in the empire, wherein *Conrad* the emperor's son rose in arms against his father, proved extremely fortunate both for

Urban,

deration of his late preferment. The king rejected it with scorn; and as he used but little ceremony in such matters, insisted in plain terms for more. *Anselm* would not comply; and the king enraged, sought all occasions to make him uneasy; until at length the poor archbishop, tired out with perpetual usurpations (or at least what was then understood to be such) upon his jurisdiction, privileges, and possessions, desired the king's licence for a journey to *Rome*; and, upon a refusal, went without it. As soon as he was withdrawn, the king seized on all his revenues, converting them to his own use; and the archbishop continued an exile until the succeeding reign.

The particulars of this quarrel between the king and archbishop, are not, in my opinion, considerable enough to deserve a place in this brief *Urban*, and for his factious instrument *Anselm*. Wicked *Urban* was the seducer of this unnatural son; and the price of his benediction soon appeared. So far as *Conrad's* sword could influence, *Clement III.* was ejected: so that in 1095 *Urban* was acknowledged through *Lombardy*, but as yet was not master of *Rome*. Fortune now befriended, and even *William* of *England* was ready to acknowledge him. Accordingly this pope sent an archiepiscopal pall, for the ceremony of the king's investing *Anselm* with the primacy: but the haughty monk refused the investiture from the king's hand, and obstinately persisted until the pope's messengers were allowed to lay the pall on the altar of *Canterbury* cathedral; whence he vouchsafed to take it (as the canting phrase was) from *St. Peter's hand*, although the king had acknowledged and obliged his kingdom to acknowledge *Urban*, on this express condition, that he should be gratified with delivering *Urban's* pall to the archbishop elect. Thus *Rufus*, who would not be bullied, was at last bubbled by a priest.

collection, being of little use to posterity, and of less entertainment; neither should I have mentioned it at all, but for the occasion it gives me of making a general observation, which may afford some light into the nature and disposition of those ages. Not only this king's father and himself, but the princes for several successions, of the fairest character, have been severely taxed for violating the rights of the clergy, and perhaps not altogether without reason. It is true, this character hath made the lighter impression, as proceeding altogether from the party injured, the cotemporary writers being generally churchmen: and it must be confessed, that the usurpations of the church and court of *Rome* were in those ages risen to such heights, as to be altogether inconsistent either with the legislature or administration of any independent state; the inferior clergy, both secular and regular, insisting upon such immunities as wholly exempted them from the civil power; and the bishops removing all controversies with the crown by appeal to *Rome*: for they reduced the matter to this short issue, that God was to be obeyed rather than men; and consequently the bishop of *Rome*, who is Christ's representative, rather than an earthly prince. Neither doth it seem improbable that all *Christendom* would have been in utter vassalage, both temporal and spiritual, to the *Roman* see, if the Reformation had not put a stop to those exorbitancies, and in a good measure opened the eyes even of those
those

those princes and states who still adhere to the doctrines and discipline of that church.

While the king continued at *Gloucester*, *Malcolm* king of *Scotland* came to this court, with intentions to settle and confirm the late peace between them. It happened that a controversy arose about some circumstances relating to the homage which *Malcolm* was to pay, in the managing whereof king *William* discovered so much haughtiness and disdain, both in words and gestures, that the *Scottish* prince, provoked by such unworthy treatment, returned home with indignation; but soon came back at the head of a powerful army, and, entering *Northumberland* with fire and sword, laid all waste before him. But as all enterprizes have in the progress of them a tincture of those passions by which they were spirited at first, so this invasion, begun upon private revenge, which is a blind ungovernable passion, was carried on with equal precipitation, and proved to be ruinous in the event; for *Robert Mowbray*, earl of *Northumberland*, to prevent the destruction of his own country, where he had great possessions, gathering what forces he could suddenly raise, and without waiting any directions from the king, marched against the *Scots*, who were then set down before *Alnwick* castle: there, by an ambush, *Malcolm* and his eldest son *Edward* were slain, and the army, discouraged by the loss of their princes, entirely defeated. This disaster was followed in a few days by the death of queen *Margaret*, who, not able to survive her

misfortunes, died for grief. Neither did the miseries of that kingdom end, till, after two usurpations, the surviving son of *Malcolm*, who had fled to *England* for refuge, was restored to his crown by the assistance of king *William*.

About this time the hidden sparks of animosity between the two brothers, buried, but not extinguished in the last peace, began to flame out into new dissensions. Duke *Robert* had often sent his complaints to the king for breach of articles, but without redress, which provoked him to expostulate in a rougher manner, till at length he charged the king in plain terms with injustice and perjury. But no men are found to endure reproaches with less temper, than those who most deserve them. The king, at the same time, filled with indignation, and stung with guilt, invaded *Normandy* a second time, resolving to reduce his brother to such terms as might stop all further complaints. He had already taken several strong holds, by force either of arms or of money, and, intending intirely to subdue the dutchy, gave orders to have twenty thousand men immediately raised in *England*, and sent over to him. The duke, to defend himself against these formidable preparations, had recourse again to his old ally the king of *France*, who very readily advanced with an army to his assistance, as an action wherein he could every way find his own accounts: for, beside the appearance of glory and justice by protecting the injured, he fought indeed his own battle, by preserving his neighbour-
ing

ing state in the hands of a peaceful prince, from so powerful and restless an enemy as the king of *England*; and was largely paid for his trouble into the bargain: for king *William*, either loath to engage in a long and dangerous war, or hastened back by intelligence of some troubles from *Wales*, sent offers to his army, just ready to embark for *Normandy*, that upon payment of ten shillings a man, they might have leave to return to their homes. This bargain was generally accepted; the money was paid to the king of *France*, who immediately withdrew his troops; and king *William*, now master of the conditions, forced his brother to a peace upon much harder terms than before.

In this passage there are some circumstances which may appear odd and unaccountable to those who will not give due allowance for the difference of times and manners: that an absent prince engaged in an unjust war with his own brother, and ill-beloved at home, should have so much power and credit, as by his commission to raise twenty thousand men on a sudden, only as a recruit to the army he had already with him; that he should have a fleet prepared, ready, and large enough to transport so great a number; that upon the very point of embarking, he should send them so disgraceful an offer; and that so great a number of common soldiers should be able and willing to pay such a sum of money, * equal to at least

Z 3

twelve

* The *Saxon Chronicle*, *Simeon Dunelmensis*, and *Matthew Paris*

twelve times as much in our times †; and that, after being thus deluded and spoiled at once, they should peaceably disband and retire to their several homes. But all this will be less difficult to comprehend, when we reflect on the method of raising and supporting armies, very different from ours, which was then in use, and so continued for many ages after. All men who had lands *in capite* were bound to attend the king in his wars with a proportioned number of soldiers, who were their tenants on easy rents in consideration of military service. This was but the work of a few days; and the troops consisted of such men as were able to maintain their own charges at home or abroad: neither was there any reason to apprehend, that soldiers would ever become instruments for introducing slavery, who held so great a share in the property.

The

Paris say, that *Ralf*, the treasurer, took from the men the money which had been paid them for their maintenance. Yes, says *Sir Henry Spelman*, the money which the country had allowed them for their subsistence; so that if each man paid ten shillings, it might not be from his own purse.

† It might more justly be said, equal to four and twenty times as much in our times: for the genuine silver in the sum of ten shillings of *Norman* tale, was of equal weight with the silver that is found in twenty nine shillings of our present standard coin; i. e. weighed 5 oz. and about 13 pwt. and each ounce of silver was at that time worth at least eight times more than at present. Whence we may collect, that ten shillings of *Rufus's* money was equivalent to at least twelve pounds sterl. of our present currency. The curious reader may consult bishop *Fleetwood's Chronicon preciosum*, and a synoptical table of the variations in the standard of *English* coin, by *Martin Folks, Esq*; published in an anonymous *Essay upon Money and Coins*.

The king, upon his return from *Normandy*, made an unsuccessful expedition against the *Welsh*, who, upon the advantages of his absence, had, according to their usual custom, made cruel inroads upon the adjoining counties of *Chester*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Hereford*. Upon the king's approach, they fled into their fastnesses among the mountains, where he pursued them for some time with great rage and vexation, as well as the loss of great numbers of his men, to no purpose. From hence he was recalled by a more formidable enemy nearer home: for *Robert* Earl of *Northumberland*, overrating his late services against the *Scots*, as much perhaps and as unjustly as they were undervalued by the king, refused to come to his court, which, in those days, was looked on as the first usual mark of discontent in a nobleman; and was often charged by princes as a formal accusation. The Earl having disobeyed the king's summons, and concerted matters with other accomplices, broke out into open rebellion, with intentions to depose king *William*, and set up *Stephen* Earl of *Albemarle*, son of a sister to *William the Conqueror*: but all was prevented by the celerity of this active prince; who, knowing that insurrections are best quelled in their beginnings, marched with incredible speed, and surprised the rebels at *Newcastle*, took the castles of *Tinmouth* and *Bamburg* *; where the obstinacy of the defendants provoked him, contrary to his nature, to commit cruelties upon their persons, by cutting

* Now called *Bamborough*.

ting off their hands and ears, and other the like inhumanities. The earl himself was taken prisoner as he endeavoured to make his escape; but suffered no other punishment than to be confined for the rest of his life. †

About this time began the Holy War for recovering of *Palestine*; which having not been the enterprize of any one prince or state, but that wherein most in *Christendom* had a share, it cannot with justice be silently passed over in the history of any nation.

Pope *Urban* the second, in a council at *Clermont*, made a pathetick exhortation, shewing with what danger and indignity to *Christendom*, the *Turks* and *Saracens* had, for some ages, not only over-run all *Asia* and *Africa*, where christianity had long flourished; but had also made encroachments into *Europe*, where they had entirely subdued *Spain*, and some other parts; that *Jerusalem*, the holy city, where our Saviour did so many miracles, and where his sepulchre still remained, to the scandal of the Christian name, lay groaning under the tyranny of infidels; that the swords, which Christian princes had drawn against each other, ought to be turned against the common enemy of their name and religion; that this should be reckoned an ample satisfaction for all their past sins; that those who died in this expedition should immediately go to heaven, and the survivors would be blessed with a sight of our Lord's sepulchre.

Moved

† Which was thirty years.

Moved by these arguments, and the influence of the person who delivered them, several nobles and prelates immediately took upon them the cross; and the council dissolving in this high fit of zeal, the clergy, upon their return home, prevailed so far in their several countries, that in most parts of *Europe* some great prince or lord became a votary for *the Holy Land*; as *Hugh the Great*, brother to the king of *France*; *Godfrey Duke of Lorrain*; *Reimond Count of Toulouse*; *Robert Duke of Normandy*, and many others. Neither ought it to be forgotten, that most of these noble and generous princes, wanting money to maintain the forces they had raised, pawned their dominions to those very prelates who had first engaged them in this enterprize: doubtless, a notable mark of the force of oratory in the churchmen of those ages, who were able to inspire that devotion into others, whereof they seemed so little sensible themselves.

But a great share in the honour of promoting this religious war, is attributed to the zeal and industry of a certain *French* priest, commonly called *Peter the Hermit*; who, being at *Jerusalem* upon pilgrimage some time before, and entering often into private treaty with the patriarch of that city, came back fully instructed in all the measures necessary for such a war: to these was joined the artifice of certain dreams and visions that might pass for divine admonition: all which, added to the piety of his exhortations, gave him such credit with the pope, and several princes of
Christendom,

Christendom, that he became in his own person the leader of a great army against the Infidels, and was very instrumental for engaging many others in the same design.

What a spirit was thus raised in *Christendom*, among all sorts of men, cannot better be conceived, than from the vast numbers of these warlike pilgrims, who, at the siege of *Nice*, are said to have consisted of 600,000 foot, and 100,000 horse: and the success at first was answerable to the greatness of their numbers, the valour of their leaders, and the universal opinion of such a cause; for, besides several famous victories in the field, not to mention the towns of less importance, they took *Nice*, *Antioch*, and at last *Jerusalem*, where Duke *Godfrey* was chosen king without competition. But zeal, with a mixture of enthusiasm, as I take this to have been, is a composition only fit for sudden enterprizes, like a ferment in the blood, giving double courage and strength for the time, until it sink and settle by nature into its old channel: for, in a few years the piety of these adventurers began to slacken, and give way to faction and envy, the natural corruptions of all confederacies: however, to this spirit of devotion, there succeeded a spirit of honour, which long continued the vein and humour of the times; and the *Holy Land* became either a school, wherein young princes went to learn the art of war, or a scene wherein they affected to shew their valour, and gain reputation, when they were weary of peace at home.

The

The Christians held possession of *Jerusalem* above eighty years *, and continued their expeditions to the *Holy Land* almost as many more, with various events; and after they were entirely driven out of *Asia*, the popes have almost in every age endeavoured in vain to promote new crusades; neither does this spirit seem quite extinct among us even to this day; the usual projects of sanguine men for uniting *Christendom* against the *Turk*, being without doubt a traditional way of talk derived to us from the same fountain.

Robert, in order to furnish himself out for this war, pawned his dutchy to the King for 10,000 marks of gold †; which sum was levied with so many circumstances of rigour and exaction, towards the church and laity, as very much increased the discontents of both against the Prince.

1099. I shall record one act of this King's, which being chiefly personal, may pass rather for a part of his character, than a point of history.

As he was hunting one day in the *New Forest*, a messenger expresses from *Normandy*, brought him intelligence, that *Helie*, Count de la *Fleche*, had laid close siege to *Mans*, and expected to carry the town in a few days. The King, leaving his chase, commanded some about him to point whereabouts *Mans* lay; and so rode straight on without reflection, until he came to the coast.

His

* They held it eighty-eight years; from *July* 1099, to *October* 1187.

† Equal to 1,400,000 *l.* as money passes now.

His attendants advised him to wait until he had made preparations of men and money; to which he only returned, "They that love me, will follow me." He entered the ship in a violent storm; which the mariners beholding with astonishment, at length in great humility gave him warning of the danger; but the King commanded them instantly to put off to sea, and not be afraid; for he had never in his life heard of any king that was drowned. In a few days he drove the enemy from before the city, and took the Count himself prisoner, who raging at his defeat and captivity, exclaimed †, "That this blow was from fortune; but valour could make reprisals, as he should shew, if ever he regained his liberty." This being told the King, he sent for the Count, let him understand that he had heard of his menaces, then gave him a fine horse, bid him begone immediately, and defied him to do his worst.

It

† There is so much pleasantry and humour, as well as spirit and heroism in this story, as we have it recorded by *William de Malmesbury*, who represents the menace as thrown out in the king's presence, that I shall make no apology for setting down his words at length. "Author turbarum Helias capitur; cui ad se adducto rex ludibundus, 'Habeo te, magister, inquit.' At ille, cujus alta nobilitas nesciret etiam in tanto periculo sapere; 'Fortuito, inquit, me cepisti: si possum evadere, non vi quid facerem.' Tunc Willielmus, præ furore fere extra se positus, et obtuens Heliam, 'Tu, inquit, nebulo, tu quid faceres! Discede; abi; fuge. Concedo tibi ut facias quicquid poteris: et per vultum de Luca, nihil, si me viceris, nihil pro hac venia tecum paciscar.'" *i. e.* By the face of *St. Luke*, if thou shouldst have the fortune to conquer me, I scorn to compound with thee for my release.

It would have been an injury to this prince's memory, to let pass an action, by which he acquired more honour than from any other in his life, and by which it appeared that he was not without some seeds of magnanimity, had they been better cultivated, or not over-run by the number or prevalency of his vices.

I have met with nothing else in this king's reign that deserved to be remembered; for, as to an unsuccessful expedition or two against *Wales*, either by himself or his generals, they were very inconsiderable both in action and event, nor attended with any circumstances that might render a relation of them of any use to posterity, either for instruction or example.

His death was violent and unexpected, the effect of casualty; although this perhaps is the only misfortune of life to which the person of a prince is generally less subject than that of other men. Being at his beloved exercise of hunting in the *New Forest of Hampshire*, a large stag crossed the way before him: the King, hot on his game, cried out in haste to *Walter Tyrrel*, a knight of his attendants, to shoot; *Tyrrel* immediately let fly his arrow, which, glancing against a tree, struck the King through the heart, who fell dead to the ground without speaking a word. Upon the surprise of this accident, all his attendants, and *Tyrrel* * among the rest, fled different ways; until the fright being a little over-

VOL. XII.

A a

ver,

* Yet *Eadmer* saith, That *Tyrrel* told him, he had not been in the Forest that day.

ver, some of them returned, and causing the body to be laid in a collier's cart, for want of other conveniency, conveyed it in a very unbecoming contemptuous manner to *Winchester*, where it was buried the next day without solemnity, and, which is worse, without grief.

I shall conclude the history of this prince's reign, with a description and character of his body and mind, impartially, from the collections I have made; which method I shall observe likewise in all the succeeding reigns.

He was in stature somewhat below the usual size, and big-bellied; but he was well and strongly knit. His hair was yellow or sandy; his face red, which got him the name of *Rufus*; his forehead flat; his eyes were spotted, and appeared of different colours; he was apt to stutter in speaking, especially when he was angry; he was vigorous and active, and very hardy to endure fatigues, which he owed to a good constitution of health, and the frequent exercise of hunting: in his dress he affected gaiety and expence, which, having been first introduced by this prince into his court and kingdom, grew, in succeeding reigns, an intolerable grievance. He also first brought in among us luxury and profusion of great tables. There was in him, as in all other men, a mixture of virtues and vices, and that in a pretty equal degree; only the misfortune was, that the latter, although not more numerous, were yet much more prevalent than the former. For, being entirely a man of pleasure, this
made

made him sacrifice all his good qualities, and gave him too many occasions of producing his ill ones. He had one very singular virtue for a prince, which was that of being true to his word and promise *: he was of undoubted personal valour, whereof the writers in those ages produce several instances; nor did he want skill and conduct in the process of war. But, his peculiar excellency was that of great dispatch, which, however usually decried, and allowed to be only a happy temerity, does often answer all the ends of secrecy and counsel in a great commander, by surprising and daunting an enemy when he least expects it; as may appear by the greatest actions and events upon the records of every nation.

He was a man of sound natural sense, as well as of wit and humour, upon occasion. There were several tenets in the *Romish* church he could not digest, particularly that of the saints intercession; and living in an age over-run with superstition, he went so far into the other extreme, as to be censured for an atheist. The day before his death, a monk relating a terrible dream, which seemed to forebode him some misfortune, the King being told the matter, turned it into a jest; said, The man was a monk, and dreamt like a monk, for lucre sake; and therefore, commanded *Fitzhamon* to give him an hundred shillings,

A a 2 that

* Yet he was sometimes guilty of breach of his faith in treaties. But, he is not the only prince who in different characters had different measures of right and wrong; a public and a private conscience.

that he might not complain he had dreamt to no purpose.

His vices appear to have been rather derived from the temper of his body, than any original depravity of his mind; for being of a sanguine complexion, wholly bent upon his pleasures, and prodigal in his nature, he became engaged in great expences *. To supply these, the people were perpetually oppressed with illegal taxes and exactions; but that sort of avarice which arises from prodigality and vice, as it is always needy, so it is much more ravenous and violent than the other, which put the King and his evil instruments (among whom *Ralph*, bishop of *Durham*, is of special infamy) upon those pernicious methods of gratifying his extravagances by all manner of oppression; whereof some are already mentioned, and others are too foul to relate.

He is generally taxed by writers, for discovering a contempt of religion in his common discourse and behaviour; which I take to have risen from the same fountain, being a point of art, and

* Not from his attachment to grosser pleasures; but from his vanity, study of magnificence, buildings, affectation of generosity, and profuseness in rewarding the bravery of his soldiers. The Monks bring against him a general charge of incontinency; but mention no particulars: no spurious issue is heard of; no mistress raised to rank and splendour; not the name of any of his private favourites has reached us. Had he been as tractable to *Anselm*, as *Edgar* was to *Dunstan*; had he laid his sceptre under the feet of that insolent bigot; the same Monks would have celebrated his piety, and palliated his failings; as the popes were equally grateful to *Dunstan*, *Anselm*, and *Becket*, by exalting those incendiaries into saints.

and a known expedient, for men, who cannot quit their immoralities, at least to banish all reflections that may disturb them in the enjoyment, which must be done either by not thinking of religion at all, or, if it will obtrude, by putting it out of countenance.

Yet there is one instance that might shew him to have some sense of religion as well as justice. When two monks were outvying each other in canting the price of an abbey, he observed a third at some distance, who said never a word. The King demanded why he would not offer: The monk said, he was poor, and besides, would give nothing if he were ever so rich. The King replied, Then you are the fittest person to have it; and immediately gave it him. But this is, perhaps with reason enough, assigned more to caprice than conscience; for he was under the power of every humour and passion that possessed him for the present; which made him obstinate in his resolves, and unsteady in the prosecution.

He had one vice or folly that seemed rooted in his mind, and of all others most unbefitting a prince: this was a proud disdainful manner, both in his words and gestures; and having already lost the love of his subjects, by his avarice and oppression, this finished the work, by bringing him into contempt and hatred among his servants; so that few among the worst of princes have had the luck to be so ill-beloved, or so little lamented.

He never married, having an invincible abhorrence for the state, although not for the sex.

He died in the thirteenth year of his reign, the forty-third of his age, and of *Christ* 1100, *August* 2.

His works of piety were few; but in buildings he was very expensive, exceeding any king of *England* before or since; among which, *Westminster-Hall*, *Windsor Castle*, the *Tower of London*, and the whole city of *Carlisle*, remain lasting monuments of his magnificence.

The

The REIGN of

HENRY the FIRST.

THIS prince was the youngest son of *William the Conqueror*, and bred to more learning than was usual in that age, or to his rank, which got him the surname of *Beauclerc*; the reputation whereof, together with his being born in *England*, and born son of a king, although of little weight in themselves, did very much strengthen his pretensions with the people. Besides, he had the same advantages of his brother *Robert's* absence, which had proved before so successful to *Rufus*, whose treasures he likewise seized on immediately at his death, after the same manner, and for the same end, as *Rufus* did those of his father the *Conqueror*. *Robert* had been now five years absent in the *Holy War*, where he acquitted himself with great glory; and although he was now in *Apulia*, upon his return homeward, yet the nobles pretending not to know what was become of him, and others giving out that he had been elected king of *Jerusalem*, *Henry* laid hold of the occasion, and calling together an assembly of the clergy, nobles, and people of the realm at *London*, upon his promises to restore king *Edward's* laws, and redress the grievances which had been introduced by his father and brother, they consented to elect him king.

king *. Immediately after his coronation, he proceeded upon reforming the abuses of the late reign: he banished dissolute persons from the court, who had long infested it under the protection and example of *Rufus*: he restored the people to the use of lights in the night, which the *Conqueror* had forbidden, after a certain hour, by the ringing of a bell. Then he published his charter, and ordered a copy thereof to be taken for every county in *England*. This charter was, in substance, the freedom of mother church from former oppressions; leave to the heirs of nobles to succeed in the possession of their lands, without being obliged to redeem them, only paying to the king a moderate relief †; abolition of fines for

* Notwithstanding the phrase *electus est* be used on this occasion, by *Henry of Huntington*, and *William of Malmesbury*, there seems to be a manifest impropriety in it. The barons convened at *London*, upon news of *William's* death, pretended to no power of electing a monarch, but of declaring to whom the crown had devolved. A false charge of illegitimacy was made use of to destroy the title of *Robert*. *Imposuerunt ei illegitimatem, quod non fuerat procreatus de legitimo thoro Willielmi Conquestoris; unde unanimi assensu suo ipsum refutaverunt, et pro rege omnino recusaverunt, et Henricum fratrem in regem creaverunt.* *Knyghton*. The body of barons, or great council of the land, were, in all such emergencies, deemed the interpreters or judges of the law of succession.

† This was in appearance a very important concession, and yet proved of little use; for so long as the measure and proportion of such relief (or fine upon admittance) was left undetermined, a door was still open for grievous exactions. Whence the barons, in their famous convention with king *John*, obliged him to settle the relief of their heirs, at 100 pounds for an earl's barony,

for licence of marriage to their heireffes; a promise of not refusing such licence, unless the match proposed be with the king's enemy *, &c. the next of kin to be guardians of the lands of orphans; punishments for coiners of false money; a confirmation of *St. Edward's* laws; and a general amnesty.

About the same time he performed two acts of justice, which, by gratifying the revenge and the love of the people, gained very much upon their affections to his person: the first was, to imprison *Ralph*, bishop of *Durham*, who, having been raised by the late king from a mean and sordid birth to be his prime confident and minister, became the chief instrument, as well as contriver, of all his oppressions: the second was, in recalling and restoring archbishop *Anselm*, who, having been forced by the continual persecutions of the same prince,

barony, 100 marks for a common barony, and 100 shillings for a knight's fief; which was the ancient fine upon succession, and was supposed to be a fourth part of the yearly income of the respective inheritances. See *Magna Charta*, art. 3. "*Heres suus plene etatis—habeat hereditatem suam per antiquum elevium; scil. heres comitis,*" &c. That there were very great abuses in this branch of the royal revenue in the preceding reign, may appear from the relief exacted of *Robert de Belesme* earl of *Shrewsbury*, upon his succeeding in 1098 to the baronies of his elder brother: this, we are told by *Ordericus Vitalis*, was 3000 *l.*; an enormous sum in those times, and equivalent to about 69,700 *l.* in the present. A nobleman, reduced to compound in this manner with the crown, before he could have legal possession of his paternal estate, might well be said to redeem it.

* *i. e.* With a traitor or malecontent.

prince, to leave *England*, had lived ever since in banishment, and deprived of all his revenues.

The king had not been many months on his throne, when the news came, that duke *Robert*, returned from the *Holy Land*, was received by his subjects with great marks of joy and honour, and in universal reputation for his valour and success against the infidels: soon after which, *Ralph* bishop of *Durham*, either by the negligence or corruption of his keepers, escaped out of prison, and fled over to the duke; whom he stirred up to renew and solicit his pretensions to the crown of *England*, by writing to several nobles, who, either through old friendship, or new discontent, or an opinion of his title, gave him promises of their assistance, as soon as he should land in *England*: but the duke, having returned exceeding poor from the *Holy Land*, was not yet in a condition for such an undertaking; and therefore thought fit to defer it to a more seasonable opportunity.

As the king had hitherto, with great industry, fought all occasions to gratify his people, so he continued to do in the choice of a wife. This was *Matilda*, daughter of *Malcolm* the late king of *Scots*; a lady of great piety and virtue, who, by the power or persuasion of her friends, was prevailed with to leave her cloyster for a crown, after she had, as some writers report, already taken the veil. Her mother was sister to *Edgar Atheling*, the last heir male of the *Saxon* race; of whom frequent mention hath been made in the two preceding reigns; and thus the *Saxon* line, to the
great

great contentment of the *English* nation, was again restored.

Duke *Robert*, having now with much difficulty and oppression of his subjects, raised great forces, and gotten ready a fleet to convey them, resolved once more to assert his title to the crown of *England*: to which end he had for some time held a secret correspondence with several nobles, and lately received fresh invitations. The king, on the other side, who had received timely intelligence of his brother's preparations, gave orders to his admirals to watch the sea-ports, and endeavour to hinder the enemy's landing: but the commanders of several ships, whether *Robert* had won them by his bribes, or his promises, instead of offering resistance, became his guides, and brought his fleet safe into *Portsmouth*, where he landed his men, and from thence marched to *Winchester*, his army hourly encreasing by great numbers of people, who had either an affection for his person, an opinion of his title, or a hatred to the king. In the mean time, *Henry* advanced with his forces, to be near the duke, and observe his motions; but, like a wise general, forbore offering battle to an invader, until he might do it with manifest advantage. Besides, he knew very well that his brother was a person whose policy was much inferior to his valour, and therefore to be sooner overcome in a treaty than a fight: to this end, the nobles on both sides began to have frequent interviews; to make overtures; and at last concert the terms of a peace; but wholly to the advantage of the king, *Robert* renouncing his pretensions, in consideration

consideration of a small pension, and of succeeding to the crown on default of male issue in his brother.

The defection of nobles and other people to the duke was so great, that men generally thought, if it had come to a battle, the king would have lost both the victory and his crown. But *Robert*, upon his return to *Normandy* after this dishonourable peace, grew out of all reputation with the world, as well as into perfect hatred and contempt among his own subjects, which in a short time was the cause of his ruin.

The King, having thus by his prudence got rid of a dangerous and troublesome rival, and soon after by his valour quelled the insurrections of the earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Mortain*, whom he forced to fly into *Normandy*, found himself in full peace at home and abroad, and therefore thought he might venture a contention with the church about the right of investing bishops; upon which subject many other princes at that time had controversy with their clergy: but, after long struggling in vain, were all forced to yield at last to the decree of a synod in *Rome*, and to the pertinacy of the bishops in the several countries. The form of investing a bishop, was by delivery of a ring and a pastoral staff; which, at *Rome*, was declared unlawful to be performed by any lay-hand whatsoever; but the princes of *Christendom* pleaded immemorial custom to authorize them: and king *Henry*, having given the investiture to certain bishops, commanded *Anselm* to consecrate them.

them. This the archbishop refused with great firmness, pursuant to what he understood to be his duty, and to several immediate commands of the pope. Both sides adhering to their own sentiments, the matter was carried to *Rome*, where *Anselm* went in person, by the king's desire; who, at the same time, sent ambassadors thither to assert and defend his cause: but the pope still insisting, *Anselm* was forbidden to return to *England*. The king seized on all his revenues, and would not restore him, until, upon other concessions of the pope, *Henry* was content to yield up his pretensions to the investiture; but, however, kept the right of electing still in his own hands.

Whatever might have been the method of electing bishops, in the more primitive ages, it seems plain to me, that in these times, and somewhat before, although the election was made *per clerum & populum*; yet the king always nominated at first, or approved afterwards, and generally both, as may be seen by the style in which their elections ran, as well as by the persons chosen, who were usually churchmen of the court, or in some employment near the king. But whether this were a gradual encroachment of the regal upon the spiritual power, I had rather leave others to dispute.

1114. About this time, duke *Robert* came to *England*, upon a visit to the king, where he was received with much kindness and hospitality; but, at the same time, the queen had private directions to manage his easy temper, and work him to a consent of remitting his pension: this was com-

passed without much difficulty : but, upon the duke's return to *Normandy*, he was severely reproved for his weakness by *Ralph* bishop of *Durham*, and the two earls of *Mortain* and *Shrewsbury*. These three having fled from *England* for rebellion, and other treasons, lived exiles in *Normandy* ; and, bearing an inveterate hatred to the king, resolved to stir up the duke to a resentment of the injury and fraud of his brother. *Robert*, who was various in his nature, and always under the power of the present persuader, easily yielded to their incitements ; reproached the king in bitter terms, by letters and messages, that he had cozened and circumvented him ; demanding satisfaction, and withal threatening revenge. At the same time, by the advice of the three nobles already mentioned, he began to arm himself as formidably as he could, with design to seize upon the king's possessions in *Normandy* : but as this resolution was rashly taken up, so it was as faintly pursued, and ended in his destruction : neither hath any prince reason to expect better fortune, that engages in a war against a powerful neighbour upon the counsel or instigation of exiles, who having no farther view than to serve their private interest, or gratify their revenge, are sure to succeed in one or other, if they can embark princes in their quarrel, whom they fail not to incite by the falsest representations of their own strength, and the weakness of their enemy : for as the king was now settled in his throne too firm to be shaken, so *Robert* had wholly lost his credit
and

and friendship in *England*; was sunk in reputation at home; and, by his unlimited profuseness, reduced so low, that, having pawned most of his dominions, he had offered *Rouen*, his capital city, in sale to the inhabitants. 1105.

All this was very well known to the king, who, resolving to make his advantage thereof, pretended to be highly provoked at the disgraceful speeches and menaces of his brother; which he made the formal occasion of a quarrel. Therefore, he first sent over some forces to ravage his country; and, understanding that the duke was coldly supported by his own subjects, many of whom came over to the king's army, he soon followed in person with more; took several towns; and, placing garrisons therein, came back to *England*, designing, with the first pretext or opportunity, to return with a more potent army, and wholly subdue the dutchy to his obedience.

Robert, now grown sensible of his weakness, became wholly dispirited; and following his brother into *England*, in a most dejected manner begged for peace: but the king, now fully determined upon his ruin, turned away in disdain, muttering at the same time some threatening words. This indignity roused up once more the sinking courage of the duke; who, with bitter words, detesting the pride and insolence of *Henry*, withdrew in a rage, and hastening back to *Normandy*, made what preparations he could for his own defence. The king observing his nobles very ready to engage with him in this expedition; and being

assured that those in *Normandy* would, upon his approach, revolt from the duke, soon followed with a mighty army, and the flower of his kingdom. Upon his arrival, he was attended, according to his expectation, by several *Norman* lords; and, with this formidable force, sat down before *Tenerchebray*. The duke, accompanied by the two exiled earls, advanced with what strength he had, in hopes to draw the enemy from the siege of so important a place, although at the hazard of a battle. Both armies being drawn out in battalia, that of the king's trusting to their numbers, began
1106. the charge with great fury, but without any order. The duke, with forces far inferior, received the enemy with much firmness; and, finding they had spent their first heat, advanced very regularly against their main body, before they could recover themselves from the confusion they were in. He attacked them with so much courage, that he broke their whole body, and they began to fly on every side. The king, believing all was lost, did what he could, by threats and gentle words, to stop the flight of his men, but found it impossible: then he commanded two bodies of horse, which were placed in either wing, to join, and wheeling about, to attack the enemy in the rear. The duke, who thought himself so near a victory, was forced to stop his pursuit; and ordering his men to face about, began the fight anew. Meantime, the scattered parts of the main body, which had so lately fled, began to rally, and pour in upon the *Normans* behind, by
which

which duke *Robert's* army was almost encompassed; yet they kept their ground a while, and made several charges, until at length, perfectly overborne by numbers, they were utterly defeated. There, duke *Robert*, doing all the parts of a great captain, was taken prisoner, together with the earl of *Mortain*, and almost his whole army: for being hemmed in on all sides, few of them could make their escape. Thus, in the space of
forty years, *Normandy* subdued *England*,
and *England* *Normandy*; which are events perhaps hardly to be paralleled in any other ages of the world.

The king, having staid a while to settle the state of *Normandy*, returned with his brother into *England*, whom he sent prisoner to *Cardiff* castle, with orders that he should be favourably used, which, for some time, were duly observed; until being accused of attempting to make his escape (whether it were real or feigned) he had his eyes put out with a burning basin, by the king's express commands; in which miserable condition he lived for six and twenty years.

It is believed the king would hardly have engaged in this unnatural and invidious war, with so little pretence or provocation, if the pope had not openly approved and sanctified his cause, exhorting him to it as a meritorious action; which seems to have been but an ill return from the vicar of Christ to a prince who had performed so many brave exploits for the service of the Church, to the hazard of his person, and ruin of his fortune. But the very bigotted monks, who have

left us their accounts of those times, do generally agree in heavily taxing the *Roman* court for bribery and corruption. And the king had promised to remit his right of investing bishops, which he performed immediately after his reduction of *Normandy*, and was a matter of much more service to the pope, than all the achievements of duke *Robert* in the Holy Land, whose merits, as well as pretensions, were now antiquated and out of date.

1109. About this time, the emperor *Henry V.* sent to desire *Maude* the king's daughter in marriage, who was then a child about eight years old: that prince had lately been embroiled in a quarrel with the see of *Rome*, which began upon the same subject of investing bishops, but was carried to great extremities: for, invading *Italy* with a mighty army, he took the pope prisoner, forced him to yield to whatever terms he thought fit to impose, and to take an oath of fidelity to him between his hands. However, as soon as *Henry* had withdrawn his forces, the pope assembling a council, revoked all his concessions, as extorted by compulsion, and raised great troubles in *Germany* against the emperor, who, in order to secure himself, fought this alliance with the king.

About this time likewise, died archbishop *Anselm*, a prelate of great piety and learning, whose zeal for the see of *Rome*, as well as for his own rights and privileges, should in justice be imputed to the errors of the time, and not of the man. After his death, the king, following the steps of his brother, held the see vacant five years, contenting

contenting himself with an excuse, which looked like a jest, that he only waited until he could find another so good a man as *Anselm*.

In the fourteenth year of this king's reign, the *Welsh*, after their usual manner, invaded the marches with great fury and destruction; but the king, hoping to put a final end to those perpetual troubles and vexations given to his kingdom by that unquiet people, went in person against them with a powerful army; and, to prevent their usual stratagem of retreating to their woods and mountains, and other fastnesses, he ordered the woods to be cut down, beset all their places of security, and hunting them like wild beasts, made so terrible a slaughter, that at length, observing them to fling down their arms, and beg for quarter, he commanded his soldiers to forbear; then receiving their submissions, and placing garrisons where he thought necessary, he returned, in great triumph and satisfaction, to *London*.

1114. The princess *Maude* being now marriageable, was delivered to the emperor's ambassador; and for a portion to the young lady, a tax was imposed of three shillings upon every hide of land in *England*, which grew afterwards into a custom,* and was in succeeding times confirmed by acts of parliament, under the name of *Reasonable*

* This sort of imposition was new to the *English*; but was a consequence of the military tenure established by the Conqueror. The like *aid*, or *scutage*, as it was called, had been levied in other parts of *Europe*, wherever the feudal system had taken place, as oft

able Aid for marrying the King's Daughter, although levied after a different manner.

As the institution of parliaments in *England* is agreed by several writers to be owing to this king, so that the date of the first hath been assigned by some to the fifteenth year of his reign; which however is not to be affirmed with any certainty: for great councils were convoked not only in the two preceding reigns, but for time immemorial by the *Saxon* princes, who first introduced them into this island, from the same original with the other *Gothic* forms of government in most parts of *Europe*. These councils or assemblies were composed according to the pleasure of the prince who convened them, generally of nobles and bishops, sometimes were added some considerable commoners; but they seldom met, except in the beginning of a reign, or in times of war, until this king came to the crown; who being a wise and popular prince, called these great assemblies upon most important affairs of his reign, and ever followed their advice; which, if it proved successful, the honour and advantage redounded to him; and if otherwise, he was free from the blame: thus, when he chose a wife for himself, and a husband for his daughter, when he designed his expedition against *Robert*, and even for

oft as the lord of the fief had occasion to celebrate the nuptials of his eldest daughter, or the knighthood of his eldest son. We should have heard of this demand earlier in *England*, if any such occasion had happened. *Maude* was the first princess-royal given in marriage after the conquest.

for the election of an archbishop to the see of *Canterbury*, he proceeded wholly by the advice of such general assemblies, summoned for the purpose. But the style of these conventions, as delivered by several authors, is very various: sometimes it is *comites, barones, & cleri*; * his marriage was agreed on, *consilio majorum natu & magnatum terræ*. One author † calls it *consilium principum, sacerdotum, & reliqui populi*. And for the election of an archbishop, the *Saxon* chronicle says, that he commanded, by letters, all bishops, abbots, and thanes, to meet him at *Glocester, ad procerum conventum*. Lastly, some affirm these assemblies to have been an imitation of the three estates in *Normandy*. I am very sensible how much time and pains have been employed by several learned men to search out the original of parliaments in *England*, wherein I doubt they have little satisfied others or themselves. I know likewise, that, to engage in the same enquiry, would neither suit my abilities nor my subject. It may be sufficient for my purpose, if I be able to give some little light into this matter, for the curiosity of those who are less informed.

The institution of a state or commonwealth out of a mixture of the three forms of government received in the schools, however it be derided as a solecism and absurdity by some late writers on politics, hath been very ancient in the world, and is celebrated by the gravest authors of antiquity. For although the supreme power

* *Brompton.*

† *Polydore Virgil.*

power cannot properly be said to be divided, yet it may be so placed in three several hands, as each to be a check upon the other; or formed into a balance, which is held by him that has the executive power, with the nobility and people in counterpoise in each scale. Thus the kingdom of *Media* is represented by *Xenophon* before the reign of *Cyrus*: so *Polybius* tells us, the best government is a mixture of the three forms, *regno*, *optimatum*, & *populi imperio*: the same was that of *Sparta* in its primitive institution by *Lycurgus*, made up of *reges*, *seniores*, & *populus*; the like may be asserted of *Rome*, *Carthage*, and other states; and the *Germans* of old fell upon the same model, from whence the *Goths* their neighbours, with the rest of those northern people, did perhaps borrow it. But an assembly of the three estates is not properly of *Gothic* institution: for these fierce people, when, upon the decline of the *Roman* empire, they first invaded *Europe*, and settled so many kingdoms in *Italy*, *Spain*, and other parts, were all heathens; and when a body of them had fixed themselves in a tract of land, left desolate by the flight or destruction of the natives, their military government, by time and peace, became civil; the general was king, his great officers were his nobles and ministers of state, and the common soldiers the body of the people; but these were freemen, and had smaller portions of land assigned them. The remaining natives were all slaves; the nobles were a standing council; and upon affairs of great importance,

ance, the freemen were likewise called by their representatives to give their advice. By which it appears, that the *Gothic* frame of government consisted at first but of two states or assemblies, under the administration of a single person. But after the conversion of these princes and their people to the Christian faith, the Church became endowed with great possessions, as well by the bounty of kings, as the arts and industry of the clergy, winning upon the devotion of their new converts: and power, by the common maxim, always accompanying property, the ecclesiastics began soon to grow considerable, to form themselves into a body, and to call assemblies or synods by their own authority, or sometimes by the command of their princes, who in an ignorant age had a mighty veneration for their learning as well as piety. By such degrees the Church arrived at length, by very justifiable steps, to have her share in the commonwealth, and became a third estate in most kingdoms of *Europe*. But these assemblies, as we have already observed, were seldom called in *England* before the reign of this prince, nor even then were always composed after the same manner: neither does it appear, from the writers who lived nearest to that age, that the people had any representative at all, beside the barons and other nobles, who did not sit in those assemblies by virtue of their birth or creation, but of the lands or baronies they held. So that the present constitution of the *English* parliament hath, by many degrees and alterations,

been

been modelled to the frame it is now in; which alterations I shall observe in the succeeding reigns, as exactly as I can discover them, by a diligent search into the histories of the several ages, without engaging in the controverted points of law about this matter, which would rather perplex the reader than inform him.

1116. But to return: *Louis the Gross* king of *France*, a valiant and active prince, in the flower of his age, succeeding to that crown, that *Robert* was deprived of, *Normandy* grew jealous of the neighbourhood and power of King *Henry*, and begun early to entertain designs, either of subduing that dutchy to himself, or at least of making a considerable party against the King in favour of *William*, son of *Robert*, whom for that end he had taken into his protection. Pursuant to these intentions, he soon found an occasion for a quarrel; expostulating with *Henry*, that he had broken his promise by not doing homage for the dutchy of *Normandy*, as well as by neglecting to raze the castle of *Gisors*, which was built on the *French* side of the river *Epte*, the common boundary between both dominions. *

But

* Some years before, there had been a treaty concluded between *France* and *Normandy*: wherein, among other points, it was agreed, That the frontier town, *Gisors*, should be sequestered in the hands of a baron called *Payen*, who was to receive into it neither *English* nor *Norman*, nor *French* troops; but in case it should fall into the hands of either of the two kings, it was stipulated that the walls should be razed within the space of forty days. Notwithstanding this, *Henry* had seized the place; and when called upon to sequester it, or else to raze the walls, declined the doing either. Father *Daniel*.

But an incident soon offered, which gave King *Henry* a pretext for retaliating almost in the same manner: for it happened, that upon some offence taken against his nephew *Theobald* Count of *Blois* by the *French* King, *Louis* in great rage sent an army to invade and ravage the Earl's territories. *Theobald* defended himself for a while with much valour; but at length, in danger to be overpowered, requested aid of his uncle the King of *England*, who supported him so effectually with men and money, that he was able not only to defend his own country, but very much to infest and annoy his enemy. Thus a war was kindled between the two kings. *Louis* now openly asserted the title of *William* the son of *Robert*; and entering into an alliance with the Earls of *Flanders* and *Anjou*, began to concert measures for driving King *Henry* out of *Normandy*.

The King having timely intelligence of his enemy's designs, began with great vigour and dispatch to prepare himself for war: he raised, with much difficulty and discontent of his people, the greatest tax that had ever been known in *England*; and passing over into *Normandy* with a mighty army, joined his nephew *Theobald*. The King of *France*, who had entertained hopes that he should over-run the dutchy before his enemy could arrive, advanced with great security towards the frontiers of *Normandy*; but observing an enemy of equal number and force already prepared to engage him, he suddenly stopt his march. The two armies faced one another for

some hours, neither side offering battle; the rest of the day was spent in light skirmishes begun by the *French*, and repeated for some days following with various success; but the remainder of the year passed without any considerable action.

1119. At length the violence of the two princes brought it to a battle: for *Louis*, to give a reputation to his arms, advanced towards the frontiers of *Normandy*, and after a short siege took *Gué Nicaise**; there the King met him, and the fight began, which continued with great obstinacy on both sides for nine hours. The *French* army was divided into two bodies, and the *English* into three; by which means, that part where the King fought in person, being attacked by a superior number, began to give way; and *William Crispin*, a *Norman* baron, singling out the king of *England*, (whose subject he had been, but banished for treason) struck him twice on the head with so much violence, that the blood gushed out of his mouth. The King inflamed with rage and indignation, dealt such furious blows, that he struck down several of his enemies, and *Crispin* among the rest, who was taken prisoner at his horse's feet. The soldiers, encouraged by the valour of their Prince, rallied and fell on with fresh vigour, and the victory seemed doubtful, when *William*, the son of King *Henry*, to whom his father had entrusted the third body of his army, which had not yet engaged, fell on with

* At that time reckoned an important fortress on the river *Epte*.

with this fresh reserve upon the enemy, who was already very much harassed with the toil of the day: this quickly decided the matter; for the *French*, though valiantly fighting, were overcome, with the slaughter of several thousand men; their King quitted the field, and withdrew to *Andeli*; but the King of *England* recovering *Gué Nicaise*, returned triumphant to *Rouen*.

This important victory was followed by the defection of the Earl of *Anjou* to King *Henry*, and the Earl of *Flanders* fell in the battle; by which the King of *France* was at once deprived of two powerful allies. However, by the intercession of the former, a peace was soon after made between both crowns. *William* the King's son did homage to *Louis* for the dukedom of *Normandy*; and the other *William*, following the fortunes of his father, was left to his pretensions and complaints.

It is here observable, that from this time, until *Wales* was subdued to the *English* crown, the eldest sons of *England* were called Dukes of *Normandy*, as they are now Princes of *Wales*.

1120. The King having staid some time in *Normandy*, for the settlement of his dutchy after the calamities and confusions of a war, returned to *England*, to the very great satisfaction of his people and himself. He had enlarged his dominions by the conquest of *Normandy*; he had subdued all his competitors, and forced even the King of *France*, their great protector, after a glorious victory, to his own conditions of a peace;

he was upon very good terms with the Pope, who had a great esteem and friendship for his person, and made him larger concessions than was usual from that see, and in those ages. At home he was respected by the clergy, revered by the nobles, and beloved by the people; in his family he was blessed with a son of much hopes, just growing to years of manhood, and his daughter was an empress; so that he seemed to possess as great a share of happiness as human life is capable to admit. But the felicity of man depends upon a conjunction of many circumstances, which are all subject to various accidents, and every single accident is able to dissolve the whole contexture; which truth was never verified more than in this Prince, who by one domestick misfortune, not to be prevented or foreseen, found all the pleasure and content he proposed to himself by his prudence, his industry, and his valour, wholly disappointed and destroyed: for *William* the young prince having embarked at *Barfleur* some time after his father, the mariners, being all drunk, suffered the ship to run upon a rock, where it was dashed to pieces: the Prince made a shift to get into the boat, and was making to the shore, until forced back by the cries of his sister, whom he received into the boat; but so many others crowded in at the same time, that it was immediately overturned. There perished, beside the Prince, a natural son and daughter of the King's, his niece, and many other persons of quality, together with all their attendants and servants, to the
number

number of a hundred and forty, besides fifty mariners, but one person escaping.

Although the King survived this cruel misfortune many years, yet he could never recover his former humour, but grew melancholy and morose: however, in order to provide better for the peace and settlement of the kingdom after his death, about five months after the loss of his son, his former queen having died three years before, he married *Adelais*, a beautiful young lady of the family of *Lorrain*,* in hopes of issue by her, but never had any.

The death of the prince gave occasion to some new troubles in *Normandy*; for the Earls of *Meulant* and *Evreux*, *Hugh de Montfort*, and other associates, began to raise insurrections there, which were thought to be privately fomented by the *French King*, out of enmity to *King Henry*, and in favour of *William* the son of *Robert*, to whom the Earl of *Anjou* had lately given his daughter in marriage. But *William* of 1124. *Tankerville*, the King's lieutenant in *Normandy*, surprizing the enemy's forces by an ambush, entirely routed them, took both the Earls prisoners, and sent one of them (*Meulant*) to his master; but the Count *d'Evreux* made his escape.

1126. *King Henry*, having now lost hope of issue by his new queen, brought with him, on his return to *England*, his daughter *Maude*, who by the Emperor's death had been lately left a widow

C c 3 and

* She was the daughter of *Godfrey Duke of Louvain*, or the *Lower Lorrain*.

and childless; and in a parliament or general assembly, which he had summoned at *Windsor*, he caused the crown to be settled on her and her children, and made all his nobles take a solemn oath to defend her title. This was performed by none with so much forwardness as *Stephen* Earl of *Boulogne*, who was observed to shew a more than ordinary zeal in the matter. This young lord was the King's nephew, being second son of the Earl of *Blois* by *Adela* the conqueror's daughter: he was in high favour with the King his uncle, who had married him to the daughter and heiress of the Earl of *Boulogne*, given him great possessions in *England*, and made him indeed too powerful for a subject.

The King, having thus fixed the succession of the crown in his daughter, by an act of settlement and an oath of fealty, looked about to provide her with a second husband, and at length determined his choice in *Geoffrey Plantagenet* Earl of *Anjou*, the son of *Fulk* lately deceased.

This prince, whose dominions confined on *France* and *Normandy*, was usually courted for an ally by both kings in their several quarrels; but having little faith or honour, he never scrupled to change sides as often as he saw or conceived it for his advantage. After the great victory over the *French*, he closed in with King *Henry*, and gave his daughter to the young Prince *William*; yet at the same time, by the private encouragement of *Louis*, he prevailed on the King of *England* to be easy in the conditions of a peace.
Upon

Upon the unfortunate loss of the Prince, and the troubles in *Normandy* thereupon, he fell again from the King, gave his other daughter to *William* the son of *Robert*, and struck up with *France* to take that Prince again into protection. But dying soon after, and leaving his son *Geoffry* to succeed in that earldom, the King was of opinion he could not any where bestow his daughter with more advantage, both for the security and enlargement of his dominions, than by giving her to this Earl; by which marriage *Anjou* would become an acquisition to *Normandy*, and thus be a more equal match to so formidable a neighbour as *France*. In a short time the marriage was concluded; and this earl *Geoffry* had the honour to introduce into the royal family of *England* the surname of *Plantagenet*, borne by so many succeeding kings, which began with *Henry II.* who was the eldest son of this marriage.

But the King of *France* was in great discontent at this match: he easily foresaw the dismal consequences to himself and his successors from such an increase of dominion united to the crown of *England*: he knew what impressions might be made in future times to the shaking of his throne by an aspiring and warlike king, if they should happen in a weak reign, or upon any great discontents in that kingdom. Which conjectures being highly reasonable (and since often verified by events) he cast about to find some way of driving the King of *England* entirely out of *France*; but having neither pretext nor stomach in the
midst

midst of a peace to begin an open and formal quarrel, there fell out an accident which gave him plausible occasion of pursuing his design.

Charles the Good, Earl of *Flanders*, having been lately murdered by some of his subjects, upon private revenge, the king of *France* went in person to take revenge of the assassins, which he performed with great justice and honour. But the late Earl leaving no heir of his body, and several competitors appearing to dispute the succession, *Louis* rejected some others who seemed to have a fairer title, and adjudged it to *William*, the son of *Robert*, the better to secure him to his interests, upon any design he might engage in against the king of *England*. Not content with this, he assisted the earl in person, subdued his rivals, and left him in peaceable possession of his new dominion.

King *Henry*, on the other side, was very apprehensive of his nephew's greatness, well knowing to what end it was directed: however, he seemed not to regard it, contenting himself to give the earl employment at home, by privately nourishing the discontents of his new subjects, and abetting under-hand another pretender: for *William* had so entirely lost the hearts of his people, by his intolerable avarice and exactions, that the principal towns in *Flanders* revolted from him, and invited *Thierrie* Earl of *Alsace* to be their governor. But the King of *France* generously resolved to appear once more in his defence, and took his third expedition into *Flanders* for that purpose. He had marched as far as *Artois*, when he was suddenly recalled

recalled to defend his own dominions from the fury of a powerful and provoked invader : for *Henry* king of *England*, moved with indignation to see the *French* king, in the midst of a peace, so frequently and openly supporting his most dangerous enemy, thought it the best way to divert *Louis* from kindling a fire against him abroad, by forcing him to extinguish one at home : he therefore entered into the bowels of *France*, ravaging and laying waste all before him, and quickly grew so formidable, that the *French* king, to purchase a peace, was forced to promise never more to assist or favour the earl of *Flanders* : however, as it fell out, this article proved to be wholly needless ; for the young earl soon after gave battle to *Thierrie*, and put his whole army to the rout : but pursuing his victory, he received a wound in his wrist, which, by the unskilfulness of a surgeon, cost him his life.*

This one slight inconsiderable accident did, in all probability, put a stop to very great events ; for if that young prince had survived his victory, it is hardly to be doubted but through the justice of his cause, the reputation of his valour, and the assistance of the king of *France*, he would in a little time have recovered *Normandy*, and perhaps his father's liberty, which were the two designs he had in agitation ; nor could he well have missed the crown of *England* after the king's death, who was now in his decline, when he had
so

* The lance passed through or under the ball of his thumb into his wrist. The wound gangrening, he died within five days.

so fair a title, and no competitors in view but a woman and an infant.

1129. Upon the king's return from *Normandy*, a great council of the clergy was held at *London*, for the punishing of priests who lived in concubinage, † which was the great grievance of the Church

† For celibacy was now placed among the first of ecclesiastic virtues. Not concubines only, but wives, were deemed a reproach to the sacred order; and canons were made for inflicting equal punishments on clergymen who cohabited with either: nay, the wives of priests were denied to be wives, and degraded into the rank of concubines.

At some preceding councils in this reign, severe decrees passed to restrain ecclesiastics from matrimony, and to chastise those, who, being married, should neglect to repudiate their wives. If a priest, deacon, subdeacon, &c. should suffer any woman, except a mother, sister, aunt, or person equally unsuspected, to dwell in the house with him, he was to be punished with loss of benefice and loss of his order, and the concubinary, or suspected female, to be arrested, disciplined, or reduced to be a slave. [*Council. Lond. anno 1126. c. 13. — Westmonast. anno 1127. c. 5, 7.*] These were laws which the policy of Rome suggested, but which the king and lay-barons might not fully approve. They were laws that could not, however, be put generally in execution, considering the number and power of the married clergy at this time (to whose claim of the *honourable and undefiled bed* the last blow had not yet been given) without the aid and concurrence of the civil power: the king seemed ready to co-operate, and found his advantage in so doing. In the very beginning of his reign, he was remarkably active in enforcing the new canons against clerical incontinency, by levying fines on the transgressors, without waiting for their conviction in an ecclesiastical court, or rather in lieu of the penalties which such court might inflict.

This was thought an invasion of the spiritual power; and besides, a motive of avarice was supposed to lurk under the zeal he pretended for the chastity of the Church. *Anselm*, though lately restored

Church in those ages, and had been condemned by several canons. This assembly thinking to take a more effectual course against that abomination, as it was called, decreed severe penalties upon those who should be guilty of breaking it, entreating the king to see the law put in execution; which he very readily undertook, but performed otherwise than was expected, eluding the force of the law by an evasion to his own advantage: for, exacting fines of the delinquent priests, he suffered them to keep their concubines without further disturbance. A very unaccountable step in so wise a body for their own concerns,

restored to royal favour, and to the possession of the revenues of his see, could not brook such proceedings: he dispatched out of *Normandy* a chiding epistle to the king. A short extract from it may shew the spirit of the man, and the style in which bishops durst admonish their sovereigns. “Audio quòd vestra excellentia vindictam exercet super presbyteros Angliæ, & forisfacturam exigit ab iis qui non servaverunt præceptum concilii, quod ego cum vestro favore tenui apud *Lundoniam* cum aliis episcopis, &c. quod hæcenus inauditum & inusitatum in ecclesiâ Dei de ullo rege & de aliquo principe. Non enim pertinet—hujusmodi culpam vindicare, nisi ad singulos episcopos—aut, si & episcopi in hoc negligentes fuerint, ad archiepiscopum & primatem—precor igitur—& consulo—ne vos contra ecclesiasticam consuetudinem in tam grave peccatum mittatis—dico enim vobis, quòd valdè timere debetis, quòd pecunia taliter accepta—non adjuvabit terrena negotia; ut taceam, quantum noceat animæ, quantum postea perturbabit.” The king, after such an increpation, was cautious of interfering with ecclesiastical discipline. Fresh synods threw out more invectives and fiercer menaces against the concubinage, under which term was included the marriage of clerks; but the evil was still unremoved. Thus matters stood before the opening of the council of *London* in 1129, whose impolitic management is here censured by *Dr. Swift*.

ments, as the clergy of those times is looked upon to have been : and although, perhaps, the fact be not worth recording, it may serve as a lesson to all assemblies never to trust the execution of a law into the hands of those who will find it more to their interests to see it broken than observed.*

1132. The empress *Maude* was now happily delivered of a son, who was afterwards king of *England*, by the name of *Henry* the Second : and the king calling a parliament, had the oath of fealty repeated by the nobles and clergy to her and her issue, which in the compass of three years they all broke or forgot.

1134. I think

* The king might now, it seems, animadvert upon licentious and married priests, without fear of a primate's reprimand : the church itself had resigned this branch of her discipline to him ; but he was far from answering the warm expectations of the advocates for celibacy. Fines indeed he exacted from such as trespassed against the canons ; this was a happy expedient for replenishing his coffers : but when those fines had been paid by clerks under censure, he connived at their retaining wives, and indulged them the protection of the civil power. For we must not say with *Alfred* and other Jesuits, that he connived at their keeping strumpets, notwithstanding that the term *focarie*, used by *Mathew Paris*, may seem to favour such reproach. *Uxores* is the appellation expressly given to those spared and pitied domesticks by *Henry Huntingdon*, *Hovedon*, the *Annals of Margan* and of *Waverly*, and the *Chronicon of Heningford*. [See *Collier, Eccl. Hist.* vol. i. p. 322.] If it was an oversight in the clergy to entrust the king with the execution of their laws against concubinage, *Henry*, however, acted on this occasion, the good politician, by dispensing with those who could not bear a separation from their wives. It was not his business to extinguish connubial love, or destroy family connexions in that order. A married clergy, he might reasonably imagine, would never become slaves to *Rome*, nor conspire with any pope to subvert the civil constitution.

1134. I think it may deserve a place in this history, to mention the last scene of duke *Robert's* life, who either through the poorness or greatness of spirit, having outlived the loss of his honour, his dominions, his liberty, his eye-sight, and his only son, was at last forced to sink under the load of eighty years, and must be allowed for the greatest example either of insensibility or contempt of earthly things, that ever appeared in a sovereign or private person. He was a prince hardly equalled by any in his time for valour, conduct, and courtesy; but his ruin began from the easiness of his nature, which, whoever knew how to manage, were sure to be refused nothing they could ask. By such profusion he was reduced to those unhappy expedients of remitting his rights for a pension, of pawning his towns, and multiplying taxes, which brought him into hatred and contempt with his subjects; neither do I think any virtue so little commendable in a sovereign, as that of liberality, where it exceeds what his ordinary revenues can supply; where it passes those bounds, his subjects must all be oppressed to shew his bounty to a few flatterers, or he must sell his towns, or basely renounce his rights, by becoming pensioner to some powerful prince in the neighbourhood; all which we have lived to see performed by a late monarch in our own time and country.

1135. Since the reduction of *Normandy* to the king's obedience, he found it necessary for his affairs to spend in that dutchy some part of his

time almost every year; and a little before the death of *Robert*, he made his last voyage there. It was observable in this prince, that having some years past very narrowly escaped shipwreck in his passage from *Normandy* into *England*, the sense of his danger had made very deep impressions on his mind, which he discovered by a great reformation in his life, by redressing several grievances and doing many acts of piety; and, to shew the steadiness of his resolutions, he kept them to the last, making a progress through most parts of *Normandy*, treating his subjects in all places with great familiarity and kindness, granting their petitions, easing their taxes, and, in a word, giving all possible marks of a religious, wise, and gracious prince.

Returning to *St. Dennis le Forment* from his progress a little indisposed, he there fell into a fever upon a surfeit of lamprey, which in a few days ended his life. His body was conveyed to *England*, and buried at *Reading* in the abbey-church himself had founded.

It is hard to affirm any thing peculiar of this prince's character; those authors who have attempted it, mentioning very little but what was common to him with thousands of other men: neither have they recorded any of those personal circumstances or passages, which only can discover such qualities of the mind as most distinguish one man from another. These defects may perhaps appear in the stories of many succeeding kings; which makes me hope I shall not be altogether

gether blamed for sometimes disappointing the reader in a point wherein I could wish to be the most exact.

As to his person, he is described to be of middle stature; his body strong set and fleshy; his hair black; his eyes large; his countenance amiable, and very pleasant, especially when he was merry. He was temperate in meat and drink, and a hater of effeminacy, a vice or folly much complained of in his time, especially that circumstance of long artificial hair, which he forbade upon severe penalties. His three principal virtues were prudence, valour, and eloquence. These were counterbalanced by three great vices; avarice, cruelty, and lust: of which the first is proved by the frequency of his taxes; the second by his treatment of Duke *Robert*; and the last was notorious. But the proof of his virtues doth not depend on single instances, manifesting themselves through the whole course of a long reign, which was hardly attended by any misfortune that prudence, justice, or valour could prevent. He came to the crown at a ripe age, when he had passed thirty years, having learned, in his private life, to struggle with hardships, whereof he had his share, from the capriciousness and injustice of both his brothers; and, by observing their failures, he had learned to avoid them in himself, being steady and uniform in his whole conduct, which were qualities they both seemed chiefly to want. This likewise made him so very tenacious as he was observed to be in his

love and hatred. He was a strict observer of justice, which he seems never to have violated, but in that particular case, which political casuists are pleased to dispense with, where the dispute is about a crown. In that he * * * * *

Consider him as a private man, he was perhaps the most accomplished person of his age, having a facetious wit, cultivated by learning, and advanced with a great share of natural eloquence, which was his peculiar talent: and it was no doubt the sense he had of this last perfection in himself, that put him so often upon calling together the great councils of the nation, where natural oratory is of most figure as well as use.

* Here the sentence breaks off short, and is left unfinished.

The

The REIGN of
S T E P H E N.

THE veneration which people are supposed naturally to pay to a right line, and a lawful title in their kings, must be upheld by a long uninterrupted succession, otherwise it quickly loses opinion, upon which the strength of it, although not the justice, is entirely founded: and where breaches have been already made in the lineal descent, there is little security in a good title (though confirmed by promises and oaths) where the lawful heir is absent, and a popular aspiring pretender near at hand. This, I think, may pass for a maxim, if any consequences drawn from history can pretend to be called so, having been verified successively three times in this kingdom, I mean by the two preceding kings, and by the prince whose reign we are now writing. Neither can this observation be justly controlled by any instances brought of future princes, who being absent at their predecessor's death, have peaceably succeeded, the circumstances being very different in every case, either by the weakness or justice of pretenders, or else by the long establishment of lineal succession.

1135. *Stephen* Earl of *Boulogne*, whose descent hath been already shewn in the foregoing reign, as the second of three brothers, whereof the eldest

was *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*, a sovereign prince, and *Henry* the youngest was bishop of *Winchester*, and the pope's legate in *England*. At the time of King *Henry's* death, his daughter the Empress was with her husband the Earl of *Anjou*, a grave and cautious prince, altogether unqualified for sudden enterprizes: but Earl *Stephen*, who had attended the King in his last expedition, made so great dispatch for *England**, that the council had not time to meet and make any declaration about a successor. When the Lords were assembled, the Legate had already, by his credit and influence among them, brought over a great party to his brother's interests; and the Earl himself, knowing with what success the like methods were used by his two last predecessors, was very liberal of his promises to amend the laws, support the church, and redress grievances: for all which the bishop undertook to be guarantee. And thus was *Stephen* elected by those very persons who had so lately, and in so solemn a manner, more than once sworn fealty to another.

The motives whereby the nobility was swayed to proceed after this manner, were obvious enough. There had been a perpetual struggle between them and their former kings, in the defence of their liberties; for the security whereof, they thought a king elected without other title, would

* *Stephen* was at *Boulogne* when he received the news of *Henry's* death. The lords present with the king at the time of his decease, were the Earls of *Glocester*, *Surry*, and *Leicester*; the Counts of *Mortagne* and *Meulant*, and some governors of castles.

would be readier to enter into any obligations, and being held in constant dependence, would be less tempted to break them: therefore, as at his coronation they obtained full security, by his taking new and additional oaths in favour of their liberties, their oath of fealty to him was but conditional, to be of force no longer than he should be true to those stipulations.

But other reasons were contrived and given out to satisfy the people: they were told it was an indignity, for so noble a nation to be governed by a woman; that the late king had promised to marry his daughter within the realm, and by consent of parliament, neither of which was observed: and lastly, *Hugh Bigod*, steward to King *Henry*, took a voluntary oath, before the archbishop of *Canterbury*, that his master, in his last sickness, had, upon some displeasure, disinherited his daughter.

He received the crown with one great advantage that could best enable him to preserve it: this was the possession of his uncle's treasures, amounting to one hundred thousand pounds, and reckoned as a prodigious sum in those days; by the help of which, without ever raising one tax upon the people, he defended an unjust title against the lawful heir, during a perpetual contest of almost twenty years.

In order to defend himself against any sudden invasion, which he had cause enough to expect, he gave all men licence to build castles upon their lands, which proved a very mistaken piece of politics,

litics, although grounded upon some appearance of reason. The king supposed, that no invader would venture to advance into the heart of his country, without reducing every castle in his way, which must be a work of much time and difficulty, nor would be able to afford men to block them up, and secure his retreat: which way of arguing may be good enough to a prince of an undisputed title, and entirely in the hearts of his subjects: but numerous castles are ill defenders of an usurpation, being the common retreat of malecontents, where they can fly with security, and discover their affections as they please: by which means the enemy, although beaten in the field, may still preserve his footing in the bowels of a country; may wait supplies from abroad, and prolong a war for many years: nor, while he is master of any castles, can he ever be at mercy by any sudden misfortune; but may be always in a condition of demanding terms for himself. These, and many other effects of so pernicious a counsel, the king found through the whole course of his reign; which was entirely spent in sieges, revolts, surprizes, and surrenders, with very few battles, but no decisive action: a period of much misery and confusion, which affords little that is memorable for events, or useful for the instruction of posterity.

1136. The first considerable enemy that appeared against him, was *David* king of *Scots*, who having taken the oath of fealty to *Maude* and her issue, being further engaged by the ties of blood,
and

and stirred up through the persuasions of several *English* nobles, began to take up arms in her cause; and invading the northern parts, took *Carlisle* and *Newcastle*: but upon the king's speedy approach with his forces, a peace was presently made, and the towns restored. However, the *Scottish* prince would, by no means, renounce his fidelity to the Empress, by paying homage to *Stephen*; so that an expedient was found to have it performed by his eldest son: in consideration of which, the king gave, or rather restored, to him the earldom of *Huntington*.

Upon his return to *London* from this expedition, he happened to fall sick of a lethargy, and it was confidently given out that he was dead. This report was, with great industry and artifice, dispersed by his enemies, which quickly discovered the ill inclination of several lords, who, although they never believed the thing, yet made use of it for an occasion or pretext to fortify their castles, which they refused to surrender to the king himself; but *Stephen* was resolved, as he said, to convince them that he was alive, and well; for coming against them before he was expected, he recovered *Exeter*, *Norwich**, and other fortified places, although not without much difficulty.

It is obvious enough to wonder how a prince of so much valour, and other excellent endowments, elected by the church and state, after a compliance with all conditions they could impose

* *Hugh Bigod* had seized *Norwich* castle.

on him, and in an age when so little regard was had to the lineal descent, lastly confirmed by the pope himself, should be soon deserted and opposed by those very persons who had been the most instrumental to promote him. But, beside his defective title, and the undistinguished liberty of building castles, there were three circumstances which very much contributed to those perpetual revolts of the nobles against him: first, that upon his coming to the crown, he was very liberal in distributing lands and honours to several young gentlemen of noble birth, who came to make their court, whereby he hoped to get the reputation of a generous prince, and to strengthen his party against the Empress: but, by this encouragement, the number of pretenders quickly grew too fast upon him; and when he had granted all he was able, he was forced to dismiss the rest with promises and excuses, who, either out of envy or discontent, or else to mend their fortunes, never failed to become his enemies upon the first occasion that offered. Secondly, when he had reduced several castles and towns which had given the first example of defection from him, he hardly inflicted the least punishment on the authors; which unseasonable mercy, that in another prince and another age would have been called greatness of spirit, passed in him for pusillanimity and fear, and is reckoned, by the writers of those times, to have been the cause of many succeeding revolts. The third circumstance was of a different kind: for, observing how

how little good effect he had found by his liberality and indulgence, he would needs try the other extreme, which was not his talent. He began to infringe the articles of his charter; to recal or disown the promises he had made; and to repulse petitioners with rough treatment, which was the more unacceptable, by being new and unexpected.

1137. Mean time the Earl of *Anjou*, who was not in a condition to assert his wife's title to *England*, hearing *Stephen* was employed at home, entered *Normandy* with small force, and found it no difficult matter to seize several towns. The *Normans*, in the present distraction of affairs, not well knowing what prince to obey, at last sent an invitation to *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*, King *Stephen*'s eldest brother, to accept their dukedom, upon the condition of protecting them from the present insults of the Earl of *Anjou*. But before this matter could come to an issue, *Stephen*, who, upon reduction of the towns already mentioned, had found a short interval of quiet from his *English* subjects, arrived with unexpected speed into *Normandy*; where *Geoffry* of *Anjou* soon fled before him, and the whole dutchy came over to his obedience; for the further settlement whereof, he made peace with the King of *France*; constituted his son *Eustace* Duke of *Normandy*; and made him swear fealty to that prince, and do him homage. His brother *Theobald*, who began to expostulate upon this disappointment, he pacified

fied with a pension of two thousand marks * and even the Earl of *Anjou* himself, who, in right of his wife, made demands of *Stephen* for the kingdom of *England*, finding he was no equal match at present, was persuaded to become his pensioner for five thousand more †.

Stephen, upon his return to *England*, met with an account of new troubles from the North; for the King of *Scots*, under pretence of observing his oath of fealty to the Empress, infested the borders, and frequently making cruel inroads, plundered and laid waste all before him.

1138. In order to revenge this base and perfidious treatment, the King, in his march northward, sat down before *Bedford*, and took it after a siege of twenty days. This town was part of the earldom of *Huntington*, given by *Stephen* in the late peace to the eldest son of the *Scottish* king, for which the young prince did homage to him; and it was upon that account defended by a garrison of *Scots*. Upon intelligence of this surrender, King *David*, overcome with fury, entered *Northumberland*, where, letting loose the rage of his soldiers, he permitted and encouraged them to commit all manner of inhumanities; which they performed in so execrable a manner, as would scarce be credible, if it were not attested

* The mark of *Normandy* is to be understood here. Such a pension in that age was equivalent to one of 31,000 l. sterling in the present.

† Five thousand marks of silver coin was, in this reign, of the same value as the sum of 77,500 l. modern currency, is now. Here again the *Normannic* mark seems to be used.

ed by almost the universal consent of writers: they ript up women with child, drew out the infants, and tossed them upon the points of their lances: they murdered priests before the altars; then cutting the heads from off the crucifixes, in their stead put on the heads of those they had murdered; with many other instances of monstrous barbarity, too foul to relate. But cruelty being usually attended with cowardice, this perfidious prince, upon the approach of King *Stephen*, fled into places of security. The King of *England*, finding no enemy on whom to employ his revenge, marched forward into the country, destroying with fire and sword all the southern parts; and would, in all probability, have made terrible impressions into the heart of *Scotland*, if he had not been suddenly recalled by a more dangerous fire at home, which had been kindled in his absence, and was now broken out into a flame.

Robert Earl of *Glocester*, natural son of the late king, came into *England* some time after the advancement of *Stephen* to the crown; and, yielding to the necessity of the time, took the oath of fealty upon the same condition used by the other nobles, to be of force so long as the King should keep his faith with him, and preserve his dignity inviolate: but, being in his heart wholly devoted to the interests of the Empress his sister, and moved by the persuasions of several religious men, he had, with great secrecy and application, so far practised upon the levity or discontents of several

ral lords, as to gain them to his party ; for the King had, of late, very much alienated the nobles against him ; first, by seizing several of their persons, and dispossessing them of their lands ; and, secondly, by taking into his favour *William D'Ypres*, a *Flemish* commander, of noble birth, but banished by his prince. This man, with many of his followers, the King employed chiefly both in his councils and his armies, and made him Earl of *Kent*, to the great envy and displeasure of his *English* subjects. The Earl of *Glocester*, therefore, and his accomplices, having prepared all things necessary for an insurrection, it was agreed among them, that while the King was engaged against the *Scots*, each of them should secure what towns and castles they could, and openly declare for the Empress. Accordingly, Earl *Robert* suddenly fortified himself in *Bristol* ; the rest followed his example ; *Hereford*, *Shrewsbury*, *Ludlow*, *Dover* *, and many other places were seized by several lords ; and the defection grew so formidable, that the King, to his great grief, was forced to leave his *Scottish* expedition unfinished, and return with all possible speed to suppress the rebellion begun by his subjects ; having first left the care of the North to *Thurstan*,
archbishop

* *Robert* Earl of *Glocester* had been entrusted by *Stephen* with the custody of *Dover* castle : but *Robert* lying now under heavy suspicion, the King, resolved to secure that important fortress by force, sent *Matilda* his queen to lay siege to it ; to whom, after some defence, *Walchelin*, the deputy-governor, surrendered it.

archbishop of *York*, with orders carefully to observe the motions of the *Scots*.

Whilst the King was employed in the South, in reducing his discontented lords, and their castles, to his obedience, *David* presuming upon the distance between them, re-entered *England* with more numerous forces, and greater designs, than before: for, without losing more time than what was necessary to pillage and destroy the country as he marched, he resolved to besiege *York*, which, if he could force to surrender, would serve as a convenient frontier against the *English*. To this end, advancing near the city, and having pitched his tents, he sat down before it with his whole army. In the mean time, archbishop *Thurstan*, having already summoned the nobles and gentry of the shire, and parts adjacent, had, by powerful persuasions, incited them to defend their country against a treacherous, bloody, and restless enemy: so that before the King of *Scotland* could make any progress in the siege, the whole power of the North was united against him, under the Earl of *Albemarle*, and several other nobles. Archbishop *Thurstan*, happening to fall sick, could not go in person to the army, but sent the bishop of *Durham* in his stead; by whose encouragements, the *English*, although in number far inferior, advanced boldly towards the enemy, and offered them battle, which was as readily accepted by the *Scots*, who, sending out a party of horse to secure the rising ground, were immediately attacked by the *English*.

lish, and, after a sharp dispute, entirely defeated. In the heat of the battle, the King of *Scots*, and his son *Henry* Earl of *Huntington*, gave many proofs of great personal valour. This young prince fell with such fierceness upon a body of the *English*, that he utterly broke and dispersed them; and was pursuing his victory, when a certain man, bearing aloft the head of an enemy he had cut off, cried out, It was the head of the *Scottish* King, which being heard and believed on both sides, the *English*, who had lately fled, rallied again, assaulting their enemies with new vigour. The *Scots*, on the other side, discouraged by the supposed death of their prince, began to turn their backs: the King and his son used all endeavours to stop their flight, and made several brave stands against the enemy: but the greatest part of their army being fled, and themselves almost encompassed, they were forced to give way to fortune, and with much difficulty made their escape.

The loss on the *English* side was inconsiderable; but of *Scots*, by general consent of writers, ten thousand were slain. And thus ended the war of the Standard, as it was usually called by the authors of that age, because the *English*, upon a certain engine, raised the mast of a ship, on the top whereof, in a silver box, they put the consecrated wafer, and fastened the standards of *St. Peter* and other saints: this gave them courage, by remembering they were to fight in the presence of God; and served likewise for a mark
where

where to reassemble when they should happen to be dispersed by any accident or misfortune.

1139. Mean time, the King was equally successful against his rebellious lords at home, having taken most of their castles and strong holds; and the Earl of *Glocester* himself, no longer able to make any resistance, withdrew into *Normandy*, to concert new measures with the Empress his sister. Thus the King had leisure and opportunity for another expedition into *Scotland*, to pursue and improve his victory, where he met with no opposition: however, he was at length persuaded, with much difficulty, to accept his own conditions of a peace; and *David* delivered up to him his eldest son *Henry*, as a hostage for performance of articles between them.

The King, in his return homeward, laid siege to *Ludlow* castle, which had not been reduced with the rest: here Prince *Henry* of *Scotland*, boiling with youth and valour, and exposing his person upon all occasions, was lifted from his horse by an iron grapple let down from the wall, and would have been hoisted up into the castle, if the King had not immediately flown to his assistance, and brought him off with his own hands by main force from the enemy, whom he soon compelled to surrender the castle.

1140. *Stephen* having thus subdued his inveterate enemies the *Scots*, and reduced his rebellious nobles, began to entertain hopes of enjoying a little ease. But he was destined to the possession of a crown with perpetual disturbance; for he was

hardly returned from his northern expedition, when he received intelligence that the Empress, accompanied by her brother the Earl of *Glocester*, was preparing to come for *England*, in order to dispute her title to the kingdom. The King, who knew by experience, what a powerful party she already had to espouse her interests, very reasonably concluded, the defection from him would be much greater, when she appeared in person to countenance and reward it; he therefore began again to repent of the licence he had granted for building castles, which were now like to prove so many places of security for his enemies, and fortifications against himself; for he knew not whom to trust, vehemently suspecting his nobles ever since their last revolt. He therefore cast about for some artifice to get into his hands as many of their castles as he could: in the strength and magnificence of which kind of structures, the bishops had far outdone the rest, and were, upon that, as well as other accounts, very much maligned and envied by the temporal lords, who were extremely jealous of the church's increasing power, and glad upon all occasions to see the prelates humbled. The King, therefore, having formed his project, resolved to make trial where it would be least invidious, and where he could foresee least danger in the consequences. At a parliament or assembly of nobles at *Oxford*, it was contrived to raise a quarrel between the servants of some bishops and those of *Alan*, Count of *Dinan* in *Bretagne*, upon a contention of rooms
in

in their inns. *Stephen* took hold of this advantage, sent for the bishops, taxed them with breaking his peace, and demanded the keys of their castles, adding threats of imprisonment if they dared to disobey. Those whom the King chiefly suspected, or rather who had built the most and strongest castles, were *Roger* bishop of *Salisbury*, with his nephew and natural son the bishops of *Ely* and *Lincoln*, whom the King, by many circumstances of rigour, compelled to surrender, going himself in person to seize *Devizes* *, then esteemed the noblest structure of *Europe*, and built by the fore-mentioned bishop *Roger*, whose treasure, to the value of forty thousand marks †, there likewise deposited, fell, at the same time, into the King's hand, which in a few days broke the bishop's heart, already worn with age and infirmity.

It may, perhaps, not be thought a digression, to say something of the fortunes of this prelate, who, from the lowest beginnings, came to be, without dispute, the greatest churchman of any subject in his age. It happened that the late king *Henry*, in the reign of his brother, being at a village in *Normandy*, wanted a priest to say mass before

* According to *Ordericus Vitalis*, this castle was defended by *Maude* of *Ramsbury*, the bishop's concubine. *Episcopi pellex principalem munitionem servabat.*

† This prelate's treasure is doubtless computed by the smaller or *Saxon* mark; the use of which still prevailed in *England*; and even thus computed, it amounts to a vast sum, equal to about 116,350*l.* of modern money.

before him and his train, when this man, who was a poor curate thereabouts, offered his service, and performed it with so much dexterity and speed, that the soldiers, who attended the Prince, recommended him to their master, upon that account, as a very proper chaplain for military men; but it seems he had other talents; for having gotten into the Prince's service, he soon discovered great application and address, much order and oeconomy in the management of his master's fortunes, which were wholly left to his care. After *Henry's* advancement to the crown, this chaplain grew chief in his favour and confidence; was made bishop of *Salisbury*, chancellor of *England*, employed in all his most weighty affairs, and usually left vicegerent of the realm, while the King was absent in *Normandy*. He was among the first that swore fealty to *Maude* and her issue; and among the first that revolted from her to *Stephen*, offering such reasons in council for setting her aside, as, by the credit and opinion of his wisdom, were very prevalent. But the King, in a few years, forgot all obligations, and the bishop fell a sacrifice in his old age to those treasures he had been so long heaping up for its support. A just reward for his ingratitude towards the prince that raised him, to be ruined by the ingratitude of another, whom he had been so very instrumental to raise.

But *Henry* bishop of *Winchester*, the pope's legate, not able to endure this violation of the church, called a council of all the prelates to meet

at *Winchester*, where the King, being summoned, appeared by his advocate, who pleaded his cause with much learning; and the archbishop of *Rouen*, coming to the council, declared his opinion, That although the canons did allow the bishops to possess castles, yet in dangerous times they ought to deliver them up to the King. This opinion *Stephen* followed very steadily, not yielding a tittle, although the legate his brother used all means, both rough and gentle, to work upon him.

The council of bishops broke up without other effect than that of leaving in their minds an implacable hatred to the King, in a very opportune juncture for the interests of *Maude*, who, about this time, landed at *Portsmouth* with her brother *Robert*, Earl of *Glocester*. The whole force she brought over for this expedition consisted but of one hundred and forty-knights*; for she trusted altogether in her cause and her friends. With this slender attendance she went to *Arundel*, and was there received into the castle by the widow of the late king; while Earl *Robert*, accompanied only by twenty men, marched boldly to his own city of *Glocester*, in order to raise forces for the Empress, where the townsmen turned out the king's garrison as soon as they heard of his approach.

King *Stephen* was not surprised at the news of the Empress's arrival, being the thing he had always

* In these times none served on horseback but gentlemen or knights, in right of their fiefs, or their representatives, called *Men at arms*; and each of these was attended by at least two servants or retainers mounted and armed.

ways counted upon, and was long preparing himself against. He was glad to hear how ill she was provided, and resolved to use the opportunity of her brother's absence; for, hastening down to *Arundel* with a sufficient strength, he laid siege to the castle, in hopes, by securing her person, to put a speedy end to the war.

But there wanted not some very near about the King, who, favouring the party of *Maude*, had credit enough to prevail with him not to venture time and reputation against an impregnable fortress, but rather, by withdrawing his forces, permit her to retire to some less fortified place, where she might more easily fall into his hands. This advice the King took against his own opinion: the Empress fled out of *Arundel* by night; and, after frequent shifting her stages through several towns, which had already declared in her favour, fixed herself at last at *Lincoln*; where, having all things provided necessary for her defence, she resolved to continue, and expect either a general revolt of the *English* to her side, or the decision of war between the King and her brother.

1141. But *Stephen*, who had pursued the Empress from place to place, hearing she had shut herself up in *Lincoln*, resolved to give her no rest; and, to help on his design, it fell out, that the citizens, in hatred to the Earl of *Chester*, who commanded there for the Empress, sent a private invitation to the King, with promise to deliver the town and their governor into his hands. The King came accordingly, and possessed himself of the

the town; but *Maude* and the Earl made their escape a few days before: however, many great persons of *Maude's* party remained prisoners to the King, and among the rest the Earl of *Chester's* wife, who was daughter to the Earl of *Glocester*. These two earls, resolving to attempt the relief of their friends, marched with all their forces near *Lincoln*, where they found the enemy drawn up and ready to receive them. The next morning, after battle offered by the lords, and accepted by the King, both sides made ready to engage. The King having disposed his cavalry on each wing, places himself at the head of his foot, in whom he reposed most confidence. The army of the lords was divided in three bodies; those whom king *Stephen* had banished were placed in the middle, the Earl of *Chester* led the van, and the earl of *Glocester* commanded the rear. The battle was fought at first with equal advantage, and great obstinacy on both sides: at length the right wing of the King's horse, pressed by the earl of *Chester*, galloped away, not without suspicion of treachery; the left followed the example. The King beheld their flight, and encouraging those about him, fell with undaunted valour upon the enemy; and being for some time bravely seconded by his foot, did great execution. At length, overpowered by numbers, his men began to disperse, and *Stephen* was left almost alone with his sword in his hand, wherewith he opposed his person against a whole victorious army, nor durst any be so hardy to approach him: the sword
breaking,

breaking, a citizen of *Lincoln* put into his hands a *Danish* battle-ax,* with which he struck to the ground the earl of *Chester*,† who presumed to come within his reach. But this weapon likewise flying in pieces with the force of those furious blows he dealt on all sides, a bold knight of the Empress's party, named *William de Keynes*, laid hold on his helmet, and immediately cried out to his fellows, I have got the King. Then the rest ran in, and he was taken prisoner ‡.

The king, being thus secured, was presented to the empress, then at *Glocester*, and by her orders conveyed to *Bristol*, where he continued in strict custody nine months, although with honourable treatment for some time, until, either upon endeavouring to make his escape, or in malice to the *Londoners*, who had a great affection for their king, he was, by express command from the empress, laid in irons, and used with other circumstances of severity.

This victory was followed by a general defection of almost the whole kingdom; and the earl of *Anjou*, husband to the empress, upon the fame of the king's defeat and imprisonment, reduced without any difficulty the whole dutchy of *Normandy* to his obedience.

The legate himself, although brother to king *Stephen*, received her at *Winchester* with great solemnity,

* *Sim. Dunelmensis.*

† The earl of *Chester* lived nevertheless to fight other battles, and died twelve years afterwards by poison.

‡ *Gervas.*

lemnity, accepted her oath for governing with justice, redressing grievances, and supporting the rights of the Church, and took the old conditional one of fealty to her: then, in an assembly of bishops and clergy, convoked for the purpose, he displayed the miscarriages of his brother, and declared his approbation of the empress to be queen; to which they unanimously agreed. To complete all, he prevailed, by his credit with the *Londoners*, who stood out the last of any, to acknowledge and receive her into the city, where she arrived at length in great pomp, and with general satisfaction.

But it was the misfortune of this princess to possess many weaknesses that are charged to the sex, and very few of its commendable qualities. She was now in peaceable possession of the whole kingdom, except the county of *Kent*, where *William D'Ypres* pretended to keep up a small party for the king; when, by her pride, wilfulness, indiscretion, and a disobliging behaviour, she soon turned the hearts of all men against her, and in a short time lost the fruits of that victory and success which had been so hardly gained by the prudence and valour of her excellent brother. The first occasion she took to discover the perverseness of her nature, was in the treatment of *Maude*, the wife of king *Stephen*, a lady of great virtue, and courage above her sex, who, coming to the empress an humble suitor in behalf of her husband, offered, as a price of his liberty, that he should resign all pretensions to the crown, and pass the rest of his life in exile, or in a convent; but this re-

quest was rejected with scorn and reproaches : and the queen finding all entreaties to no purpose, writ to her son *Eustace* to let him understand the ill success of her negotiation ; that no relief was to be otherwise hoped for than by arms ; and therefore advised him to raise immediately what forces he could for the relief of his father.

Her next miscarriage was towards the *Londoners*, who presented her a petition for redressing certain rigorous laws of her father, and restoring those of *Edward the Confessor*. The empress put them off for a time with excuses, but at last discovered some displeasure at their importunity. The citizens, who had with much difficulty been persuaded to receive her against their inclinations, which stood wholly for the king, were moved with indignation at her unreasonable refusal of their just demands, and entered into a conspiracy to seize her person. But she had timely notice of their design, and, leaving the city by night in disguise, fled to *Oxford*.

A third false step the empress made, * was in refusing her new powerful friend the legate a favour he desired in behalf of *Eustace*, the king's son, to grant him the lands and honours held by his father before he came to the crown. She had made large promises to this prelate, that she would be directed in all things by his advice ; and to be refused, upon his first application, a small favour for his own nephew, stung him to the quick : however, he governed his resentments a while, but began

* *William of Malmesbury.*

began at the same time to resume his affection for his brother. These thoughts were cultivated with great address by queen *Maude*, who prevailed at last so far upon the legate, that private measures were agreed between them for restoring *Stephen* to his liberty and crown. The bishop took leave of the empress, upon some plausible pretence, and retired to *Winchester*, where he gave directions for supplying with men and provisions several strong castles he had built in his diocese, while the queen with her son *Eustace* prevailed with the *Londoners* and men of *Kent* to rise in great numbers for the king; and a powerful army was quickly on foot, under the command of *William D'Ypres* earl of *Kent*.

In the mean time, the empress began to be sensible of the errors she had committed; and in hope either to retrieve the friendship of the legate, or take him prisoner, marched with her army to *Winchester*, where being received and lodged in the castle, she went immediately for the legate, spoke much in excuse of what was past, and used all endeavours to regain him to her interests. Bishop *Henry*, on the other side, amused her with dubious answers, and kept her in suspense for some days; but sent privately, at the same time, to the king's army, desiring them to advance with all possible speed; which was executed with so much diligence, that the empress and her brother had only time with their troops to march a back way out of the town. They were pursued by the enemy so close in the rear,

that the empress had hardly time, by counterfeiting herself dead, to make her escape; in which posture she was carried as a corpse to *Glocester*: but the Earl her brother, while he made what opposition he could, with design to stop her pursuers, was himself taken prisoner, with great slaughter of his men. After the battle, the earl was in his turn presented to queen *Maude*, and by her command sent to *Rocheſter* to be treated in the same manner with the king.

Thus the heads of both parties were each in the power of his enemy, and Fortune seemed to have dealt with great equality between them. Two factions divided the whole kingdom, and, as it usually happens, private animosities were inflamed by the quarrel of the public; which introduced a miserable face of things throughout the land, whereof the writers of our *English* story give melancholy descriptions, not to be repeated in this history; since the usual effects of civil war are obvious to conceive, and tiresome as well as useless to relate. However, as the quarrel between the king and empress was grounded upon a cause, that in its own nature little concerned the interests of the people, this was thought a convenient juncture for transacting a peace, to which there appeared an universal disposition. Several expedients were proposed; but earl *Robert* would consent upon no other terms than the deposing of *Stephen*, and immediate delivery of the crown to his sister. These debates lasted for some months, until the two prisoners, weary of
their

their long constraint, by mutual consent were exchanged for each other, and all thoughts of agreement laid aside.

The king, upon recovery of his freedom, hastened to *London*, to get supplies of men and money for renewing the war. He there found that his brother of *Winchester* had, in a council of bishops and abbots, renounced all obedience to the empress, and persuaded the assembly to follow his example. The legate, in excuse for this proceeding, loaded her with infamy, produced several instances wherein she had broken the oath she took when he had received her as queen, and upon which his obedience was grounded; and said he had received information that she had a design upon his life.*

It must be confessed that oaths of fealty in this prince's reign were feeble ties for binding the subject to any reasonable degree of obedience; and the warmest advocates for liberty cannot but allow, from those examples here produced, that it is very possible for people to run upon great extremes in this matter, that a monarch may be too much limited, and a subject too little; whereof the consequences have been fully as pernicious for the time, as the worst that can be apprehended from arbitrary power in all its height, although not perhaps so lasting or so hard to be remedied; since all the miseries of this kingdom, during the period we are treating of, were manifestly owing to that continual violation of such

F f 3

oaths

* *William of Malmesbury.*

oaths of allegiance, as appear to have been contrived on purpose by ambitious men to be broken at pleasure, without the least apprehension of perjury, and in the mean time keep the prince in a continual slavish dependence.

The earl of *Glocester*, soon after his release, went over into *Normandy*, where he found the earl of *Anjou* employed in completing the conquest of that dutchy; there he delivered him the sons of several *English* noblemen, to be kept as hostages for their fathers fidelity to the empress, and used many arguments for persuading him to come over in person with an army to her assistance: but *Geoffry* excused himself by the importance of other affairs, and the danger of exposing the dominions he had newly acquired to rebellions in his absence. However, he lent the earl of *Glocester* a supply of four hundred men, and sent along with him his eldest son *Henry*, to comfort his mother, and be shewn to the people.

During the short absence of the earl of *Glocester*, the empress was closely besieged in *Oxford* by the king; and, provisions beginning to fail, she was in cruel apprehensions of falling into his hands. This gave her occasion to put in practice the only talent wherein she seemed to excel, which was that of contriving some little shift or expedient to secure her person upon any sudden emergency. A long season of frost had made the *Thames* passable upon the ice, and much snow lay on the ground: *Maude* with some few attendants clad all in white, to avoid being discovered from the king's camp, crossed

crossed the river at midnight on foot, and travelling all night, got safe to *Wallingford* castle, where her brother and young son *Henry*, newly returned from *France*, arrived soon after, to her great satisfaction: but *Oxford*, immediately upon the news of her flight, surrendered to the king.

However, this disgrace was fully compensated soon after by another of the same kind, which happened to king *Stephen*; for whilst he and his brother of *Winchester* were fortifying a nunnery at *Wilton*, to bridle his enemies at *Salisbury*, who very much harassed those parts by their frequent excursions, the earl of *Glocester*, who watched all opportunities, came unawares with a strong body of men, and set fire on the nunnery while the king himself was in it. *Stephen*, upon the sudden surprize of the thing, wholly lost or forgot his usual courage, and fled shamefully away, leaving his soldiers to be cut in pieces by the earl.

During the rest of the war, although it lasted nine years longer, there is little memorable recorded by any writer: whether the parties being pretty equal, and both sufficiently tired with so long a contention, wanted vigour and spirit to make a thorough conquest, and only endeavoured to keep what they had; or whether the multitude of strong castles, whose number daily increased, made it very difficult to end a war between two contending powers almost in balance; let the cause be what it will, the whole time passed in mutual sieges, surprizes, revolts, surrenders of fortified places, without any decisive action, or
other

other event of importance to be related; by which at length the very genius of the people became wholly bent upon a life of spoil, robbery, and plunder: many of the nobles, although pretending to hold their castles for the king or the empress, lived like petty independent princes in a perpetual state of war against their neighbours; the fields lay uncultivated, all the arts of civil life were banished, no veneration left for sacred persons or things; in short, no law, truth, or religion among men, but a scene of universal misery, attended with all the consequences of an embroiled and distracted state.

About the eleventh year of the king's reign, young *Henry*, now growing towards a man, was sent for to *France* by a message from his father, who was desirous to see him; but left a considerable party in *England*, to adhere to his interests; and in a short time after (as some write *) the empress herself, grown weary of contending any longer in a cause where she had met with nothing but misfortunes of her own procuring, left the kingdom likewise, and retired to her husband. Nor was this the only good fortune that befel *Stephen*; for, before the year ended, the main prop and pillar of his enemies was taken away by death; this was *Robert* earl of *Glocester*, than whom there have been few private persons known in the world that deserve a fairer place and character in the registers of time, for his inviolable faith, disinterested friendship, indefatigable zeal, and

* *Gervas.*

and firm constancy to the cause he espoused, and unparalleled generosity in the conduct thereof. He adhered to his sister in all her fortunes, to the ruin of his own: he placed a crown on her head; and when she had lost it by her folly and perverseness, refused the greatest offers from a victorious enemy, who had him in his power, and chose to continue a prisoner, rather than recover his liberty by any hazard to her pretensions: he bore up her sinking title in spite of her own frequent miscarriages, and at last died in her cause by a fever contracted with perpetual toils for her service. An example fit to be shewn the world, although few perhaps are like to follow it; but however, a small tribute of praise, justly due to extraordinary virtue, may prove no ill expedient to encourage imitation.

But the death of this lord, together with the absence of the empress and her son in *France*, added very little to the quiet or security of the king. For the earl of *Glocester*, suspecting the fidelity of the lords, had, with great sagacity, delivered their sons to the earl of *Anjou*, to be kept as pledges for their fathers fidelity, as we have before related: by which means a powerful party was still kept up against *Stephen*, too strong to be suddenly broken. Besides, he had, by an unusual strain of his conduct, lately lost much good will, as well as reputation, in committing an act of violence and fraud on the person of the earl of *Chester*, a principal adherent of the empress. This nobleman, of great power and possessions, had newly reconciled himself to
Stephen,

Stephen, and came to his court at *Northampton*, where, against all laws of hospitality, as well as common faith and justice, he was committed to prison, and forced to buy his liberty with the surrender of *Lincoln*, and all his other places, into the king's hands.

Affairs continued in this turbulent posture about two years, the nobles neither trusting the king nor each other. The number of castles still increased, which every man who had any possessions was forced to build, or else become a prey to his powerful neighbours.

1149. This was thought a convenient juncture, by the empress and her friends, for sending young prince *Henry* to try his fortune in *England*, where he landed at the head of a considerable number of horse and foot, although he was then but sixteen years old. Immediately after his arrival he went to *Carlisle*, where he met his cousin *David* king of *Scots*, by whom he was made knight, after the usual custom of young princes and noblemen in that age. The king of *England*, who had soon intelligence of *Henry's* landing and motion, marched down to secure *York*, against which he expected the first attempt of his enemy was designed. But whatever the cause might be (wherein the writers of those ages are either silent or unsatisfactory) both armies remained at that secure distance for three months; after which *Henry* returned back to *Normandy*, leaving the kingdom in the state of confusion he found it at his coming.

The fortunes of this young prince *Henry Fitz-empress*,

emprefs now began to advance by great and sudden steps, whereof it will be no digression to inform the reader, as well upon the connexion they have with the affairs at home about this time, as because they concern the immediate successor to the crown.

1151. Prince *Henry's* voyage to *France* was soon followed by the death of his father *Geoffry* earl of *Anjou*, whereby the son became possessed of that earldom, together with the dutchy of *Normandy*; but in a short time after, 1152. he very much enlarged his dominions by a marriage, in which he consulted his reputation less than his advantage. For *Louis the Young*, king of *France*, was lately divorced from his wife *Eleanor*, who, as the *French* writers relate, bore a great contempt and hatred to her husband, and had long desired such a separation. Other authors give her not so fair a character: but whatever might be the real cause, the pretext was consanguinity in the fourth degree *. *Henry* was
content

* Whether the pretext were affinity, or consanguinity, is not quite agreed among historians: but it seems clear, that the real cause of the separation was the jealousy of the king, and his impatience under the scandal of her amours. The proceedings of a council summoned at *Beaugenci*, in the year 1151, for the purpose of this divorce, are related by *M. Bayle*, who is never more prolix than when he meets with ladies like *Eleanor*, renowned for beauty, learning, and gallantry. He gives us the harangue of the bishop of *Langres* in that assembly; who took the liberty of inveighing bitterly against the lewdness of the queen. The archbishop of *Bordeaux*, a more decent man, was for hushing that charge, and proposed another more honourable motive for separation, by shewing that the king and queen were related in a
degree

content to accept this lady with all her faults, and in her right † became duke of *Aquitain*, and earl of *Poitou*, very considerable provinces, added to his other dominions.

But the two kings of *France* and *England* began to apprehend much danger from the sudden greatness of a young ambitious prince; and their interests were jointly concerned to check his growth. Duke *Henry* was now ready to sail for *England*, in a condition to assert his title upon more equal terms; when the king of *France*, in conjunction with *Eustace*, king *Stephen's* son, and *Geoffry*, the duke's own brother, suddenly entered into his dominions with a mighty army; took the castle of *Neumarchè* by storm, and laid siege to that of *Angers*. The Duke, by this incident, was forced to lay aside his thoughts of *England*, and marching boldly towards the enemy, resolved to relieve the besieged; but finding they had already taken the castle, he thought it best

degree wherein marriage is unlawful. This hint was taken; the proceedings changed; and on this ground a marriage, which for fourteen years had been unquestioned, was now pronounced void. The queen, being told what turn things had taken, swooned, fell from her chair, continued above two hours speechless; at length coming to herself, and turning her bright and blue eyes on the company present, she said, &c. *Vid. Bayle's Dict. article Louis VII.*

† This *Eleanor* was daughter and heiress of *William* the last duke of *Aquitain* and earl of *Poitou*. She made afterwards a great figure in *England*; raised rebellion against the king her husband; suffered long imprisonment; but survived her troubles; her husband, and her oldest son [*Richard I.*] dying in the year 1203.

best to make a diversion, by carrying the war into the enemy's country, where he left all to the mercy of his soldiers, surprized and burnt several castles, and made great devastations wherever he came. This proceeding answered the end for which it was designed; the king of *France* thought he had already done enough for his honour, and began to grow weary of a ruinous war, which was likely to be protracted. The conditions of a peace, by the intervention of some religious men, were soon agreed. The duke, after some time spent in settling his affairs, and preparing all things necessary for his intended expedition, set sail for *England*, where he landed * the same year in the depth of the winter, with a hundred and forty knights, and three thousand foot.

Some time before *Henry* landed, the king had conceived a project to disappoint his designs, by confirming the crown upon himself and his own posterity. † He sent for the archbishop of *Canterbury*, with several other prelates, and proposed that his son *Eustace* should be crowned king with all the usual solemnity: but the bishops absolutely refused to perform the office, by express orders from the pope, who was an enemy to *Stephen*, partly upon account of his unjust or declining cause, but chiefly for his strict alliance with the

VOL. XII.

G g

king

* The place where he landed is not mentioned by our historians. It was probably in the west of *England*, as the first garrison town he attacked was *Malmesbury*.

† *Gervas*, *Hen. Huntingdon*.

king of *France*, who was then engaged in a quarrel against that see, upon a very tender point relating to the revenues of vacant churches. The king and his son were both enraged at the bishops refusal, and kept them prisoners in the chamber where they assembled, with many threats to force them to a compliance, and some other circumstances of rigour; but all to no purpose, so that he was at length forced to desist. But the archbishop, to avoid further vexation, fled the realm.

This contrivance of crowning the son during the life and reign of the father, which appears so absurd in speculation, was actually performed in the succeeding reign, and seems to have been taken up by those two princes of *French* birth and extraction, in imitation of the like practice in their native country *, where it was usual for kings grown old and infirm, or swayed by paternal indulgence, to receive their eldest son into a share of the administration, with the title of King; a custom borrowed, no doubt, from the latter emperors of *Rome*, who adopted their *Cæsars* after the like manner.

1153. The king was employed in his usual exercise of besieging castles when the news was brought of *Henry's* arrival. He left the work he was about, and marched directly against the duke, who was then sat down before *Malmesbury*. But *Stephen* forced him to raise the siege, and immediately offered him battle. The duke, although

* *Mezera.*

though his army was much increased by continual revolts, thought it best to gain time, being still in number far inferior to the king, and therefore kept himself strongly entrenched. There is some difference among writers about the particulars of this war: however, it is generally agreed, that in a short time after, the two armies met, and were prepared for battle, when the nobles on both sides, either dreading the consequences, or weary of a tedious war, prevailed with the king and duke to agree to a truce for some days in order to a peace; which was violently opposed by *Eustace*, the king's son, a youth of great spirit and courage, because he knew very well it could not be built but upon the ruin of his interests; and therefore, finding he could not prevail, he left the army in a rage, and, attended by some followers, endeavoured to satiate his fury, by destroying the country in his march: but in a few days, as he sat at dinner in a castle of his own, he fell suddenly dead, either through grief, madness, or poison..

The truce was now expired, and the duke began to renew the war with fresh vigour; but the king was wholly dispirited upon this fatal accident, and now first began to entertain real thoughts of a peace. He had lost a son whom he dearly loved, and with him he likewise lost the alliance of the *French* king, to whose sister the young prince was married. He had indeed another son left, but little esteemed by the nobles and people; nor, as it appears, much regarded

by his father. He was now in the decline of his age, decayed in his health, forsaken by his friends, who, since the death of *Eustace*, fell daily from him; and having no further care at heart for his posterity, he thought it high time to seek repose for his person. The nobles soon observed this disposition in their king, which was so agreeable to their own; therefore, by general consent, *Theobald* archbishop of *Canterbury* was appointed mediator between both princes. All matters were soon agreed; an assembly of lords was convened at *Winchester*, where the king received the duke with great marks of courtesy and kindness. There the peace was confirmed by the king's charter, wherein are expressed the terms of agreement. But I shall relate only the principal.

The king, by this charter, acknowledged *Henry* for lawful successor to the crown; in which capacity all the nobles paid him homage: and *Henry* himself, with his party, paid homage to *Stephen*. There is likewise a reservation for *William*, the king's son, of all the honours possessed by his father before he came to the crown. The king likewise acknowledges the obedience of his subjects to be no longer due to him than he shall observe the conditions of this charter. And for the performance of these articles, the archbishops and bishops were appointed guarantees. There were some other articles agreed on, which are not mentioned in the charter; as, a general pardon; a restitution, to the right owners, of those lands and possessions, which had been usurped in
the

the time of the troubles; that all castles built during the war should be razed to the ground, which are said to have been above eleven hundred; that the rights of the church should be preserved; with other matters of less moment.

Thus, by the prudence of archbishop *Theobald*, the moderation of the two princes engaged, and the universal inclination of the people, a happy period was put to this tedious and troublesome war: men began to have the prospect of a long peace; nor was it easy to foresee what could possibly arise to disturb it; when discovery was made by accident, of a most horrible piece of treachery, which, if it had met with success, would have once more set the whole nation in a flame. The duke, after the peace, attended the king to *London*, to be shewn to the people as the undoubted successor to the crown; and having made a progress together through some other parts of the kingdom, they came to *Canterbury*; where *Henry* received private notice of a design upon his life. It hath been already observed, that the king employed in his wars a body of *Flemings*, to the great discontent of his own subjects, with whom they were ungracious. These foreigners were much discontented at the peace, whereby they were likely to become useless and burthensome to the present king, and hateful to the successor. To prevent which, the commanders among them began to practise upon the levity and ambition of *William* the king's son. They urged the indignity he had received in being deprived of his

G g 3

birth-right;

birth-right; offered to support his title by their valour, as they had done that of his father; and, as an earnest of their intentions, to remove the chief impediment, by dispatching his rival out of the world. The young prince was easily wrought upon to be at the head of this conspiracy; time and place were fixed; when, upon the day appointed, *William* broke his leg by a fall from his horse; and the conspirators, wanting their leader, immediately dispersed. This disappointment and delay, as it usually happens among conspirators, were soon followed by a discovery of the whole plot, whereof the duke, with great discretion, made no other use than to consult his own safety; therefore, without any shew of suspicion or displeasure, he took leave of the king, and returned to *Normandy*.

1154. *Stephen* lived not above a year to share the happiness of this peace with his people, in which time he made a progress through most parts of the kingdom, where he gained universal love and veneration, by a most affable and courteous behaviour to all men. A few months after his return he went to *Dover*, to have an interview with the earl of *Flanders* *; where, after a short sickness, he died of the *Iliac* passion, together with his old distemper the hæmorrhoids, upon the twenty-fifth day of *October*, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the nineteenth of his reign.
He

* The earl of *Flanders* was a potent sovereign on the continent, and had landed at *Dover*, in order to meet and confer with the king.

He was a prince of wonderful endowments, both in body and mind: in his person tall and graceful, of great strength as well as vigour: he had a large portion of most virtues that can be useful in a king towards the happiness of his subjects or himself; courtesy and valour, liberality and clemency, in an eminent degree; especially the last, which he carried to an extreme, though very pardonable, yet hardly consisting with prudence, or his own safety. If we except his usurpation of the crown, he must be allowed a prince of great justice, which most writers affirm to have been always unblemished, except in that single instance: for, as to his treatment of the bishops and the earl of *Chester*, it seems very excusable by the necessity of the time; and it was the general opinion, if he had not used that proceeding with the latter, it would have cost him his crown. Perhaps his injustice to the empress might likewise admit a little extenuation. Four kings successively had sat on the throne without any regard to lineal descent; a period beyond the memory of most men then alive; whereby the people had lost much of that devotion they were used to bear towards an established succession: besides, the government of a woman was then a thing unknown, and for that reason disliked by all who professed to hate innovations.

But the wisdom of this prince was by no means equal to the rest of his virtues. He came to the crown upon as fair a title as his predecessor, being elected by the general consent of the nobles,
through

through the credit of his brother, and his own personal merit. He had no disturbance for some time, which he might easily have employed in settling the kingdom, and acquiring the love of his people. He had treasure enough to raise and pay armies, without burthening the subject. His competitor was a woman, whose sex was the least of her infirmities, and with whom he had already compounded for his quiet by a considerable pension: yet with all these advantages, he seldom was master of above half the kingdom at once, and that by the force of perpetual struggling, and with frequent danger of losing the whole. The principal difficulties he had to encounter, appear to have been manifest consequences of several most imprudent steps in his conduct, whereof many instances have been produced in the history of his reign; such as, the unlimited permission of building castles; his raising the siege of a weak place where the empress was shut up, and must, in a few days, have fallen into his hands; his employing the *Flemings* in his wars, and favouring them above his own subjects; and lastly, that abortive project of crowning his son, which procured him at once the hatred and contempt of the clergy, by discovering an inclination to violence and injustice that he durst not pursue: whereas, it was nothing else but an effect of that hasty and sudden disposition usually ascribed to those of his country, and in a peculiar manner charged to this prince: for authors give it as a part of his character, to be hot and violent in the beginning
of

of an enterprize, but to slacken and grow cold in the prosecution.

He had a just sense of religion, and was frequent in attending the service of the church, yet reported to be no great friend to the clergy ; which, however, is a general imputation upon all the kings of this realm, in that and some succeeding reigns, and by no means personal to this prince, who deserved it as little as any.

I do not find any alterations during this reign in the meetings of general assemblies, further than that the commons do not seem to have been represented in any of them ; for which I can assign no other reason than the will of the king, or the disturbance of the time *. I observe the word *Parliament* is used promiscuously among authors for a general assembly of nobles, and for a council of bishops, or synod of the clergy ; which renders this matter too perplexed to ascertain any thing about it.

As for affairs of the church, that deserve particular mention, I have not met with any ; unless it should be worth relating, that *Henry* bishop of *Winchester*, the pope's legate, who held frequent synods during this reign, was the first introducer of appeals to *Rome*, in this kingdom, for which he is blamed by all the monkish historians who give us the account.

THE

* The rise and history of Parliaments had not been cleared up when the Doctor writ in the beginning of this current century. It is certain, that the Commons had as yet been never represented.

THE REIGN OF
HENRY the SECOND.

A FRAGMENT.

1154. **T**HE spirit of war and contention, which had for a long time possessed the nation, became so effectually laid during the last year of king *Stephen's* reign, that no alteration or disturbance ensued upon his death, although the new king, * after he had received intelligence of it, was detained six weeks † by contrary winds: besides, the opinion of this prince's power and virtues, had already begotten so great an awe and reverence for him among the people, that upon his arrival he found the whole kingdom in a profound peace. He landed at *Hofstreham* ‡, about the beginning of *December*, was received at *Winchester* by a great number of the nobility, who came there to attend and swear fealty to him, and three weeks after was crowned at *Westminster*, about the twenty-third year of his age.

For

* *Henry* was at that time besieging a castle on the frontiers of *Normandy*.

† Five weeks at the most; a month, saith *Brompton*.

‡ At *Hofstreham*, saith *Gervas*. The place is not easy to be found; however, it must be on the *Sussex* or *Hampshire* coast, because the king went directly from the place of his landing to *Winchester*. *Carte* says he landed, *Dec. 8.* near *Hurst* castle in the *Forest*.

For the further settling of the kingdom, after the long distractions in the preceding reign, he seized on all the castles which remained undestroyed since the last peace between him and king *Stephen*; whereof some he demolished, and trusted others to the government of persons in whom he could confide.

But that which most contributed to the quiet of the realm, and the general satisfaction of his subjects, was a proclamation published, commanding all foreigners to leave *England*, enforced with a most effectual clause, whereby a day was fixed, after which it should be capital for any of them to appear; among these was *William D'Ypres* earl of *Kent*, whose possessions the king seized into his own hands.

These foreigners, generally called *Flemings* by the writers of the *English* story, were a sort of vagabond foldiers of fortune, who in those ages, under several denominations, infested other parts of *Europe* as well as *England*: they were a mixt people, natives of *Arragon*, *Navarre*, *Biscay*, *Brabant*, and other parts of *Spain* and *Flanders*. They were ready to be hired to whatever prince thought fit to employ them, but always upon condition to have full liberty of plunder and spoil. Nor was it an easy matter to get rid of them, when there was no further need of their service. In *England* they were always hated by the people, and by this prince in particular, whose continual enemies they had been.

After the expulsion of these foreigners, and the forcing

forcing a few refractory lords to a surrender of their castles, king *Henry*, like a wise prince, began to consider that a time of settled peace was the fittest juncture to recover the rights of the crown, which had been lost by the war. He therefore resumed, by his royal authority, all crown lands that had been alienated by his predecessor; alledging that they were unalienable in themselves, and besides, that the grants were void, as coming from an usurper. Whether such proceedings are agreeable with justice, I shall not examine; but certainly a prince cannot better consult his own safety, than by disabling those whom he renders discontent, which is effectually done no other way but by depriving them of their possessions.

1156. While the king was thus employed at home, intelligence came that his brother *Geoffry* was endeavouring by force to possess himself of the earldom of *Anjou*, to which he had fair pretensions; for their father, considering what vast dominions would fall to his eldest son, bequeathed that earldom to the second in his last sickness, and commanded his nobles then about him, to take an oath that they would not suffer his body to be buried until *Henry* (who was then absent) should swear to observe his will. The duke of *Normandy*, when he came to assist at his father's obsequies, and found that without his compliance he must draw upon himself the scandal of keeping a father unburied, took the oath that was exacted for observance of his will, though very much against

gainst his own. But after he was in possession of *England*, whether it were that his ambition enlarged with his dominions, or that from the beginning he had never intended to observe what he had sworn, he prevailed with pope *Adrian* (of *Engliff* birth) to dispense with his oath; and in the second year of his reign went over into *Normandy*, drove his brother entirely out of *Anjou*, and forced him to accept a pension for his maintenance. But the young prince, through the resentment of this unnatural dealing, in a short time died of grief.

Nor was his treatment more favourable to the king of *Scots*, whom, upon a slight pretence, he took occasion to dispossess of *Carlisle*, *Newcastle*, and other places granted by the empress to that prince's father, for his services and assistance in her quarrel against *Stephen*.

Having thus recovered whatever he had any title to demand, he began to look out for new acquisitions. *Ireland* was, in that age, a country little known in the world. The legates sent sometimes thither from the court of *Rome*, for urging the payment of annats, or directing other Church affairs, represented the inhabitants as a savage people, overrun with barbarism and superstition: for indeed, no nation of *Europe*, where the Christian religion received so early and universal admittance, was ever so late or slow in feeling its effects upon their manners and civility*. Instead of refining

VOL. XII.

H h

their

* The *Irish* had been very learned in former ages, but had declined for several centuries before the reign of *Henry II.* Vid. *Bede*.

their manners by their faith, they had suffered their faith to be corrupted by their manners; true religion being almost defaced, both in doctrine and discipline, after a long course of time, among a people wholly sunk in ignorance and barbarity. There seem to have been two reasons why the inhabitants of that island continued so long uncultivated; first, their subjection or vassalage to so many petty kings, whereof a great number is mentioned by authors, besides those four or five usually assigned to the several provinces. These princes were engaged in perpetual quarrels, in doing or revenging injuries of violence, or lust, or treachery, or injustice, which kept them all in a continual state of war. And indeed, there is hardly any country, how renowned soever in ancient or modern story, which may not be traced from the like original. Neither can a nation come out from this state of confusion, until it is either reduced under one head at home, or by force or conquest become subject to a foreign administration.

The other reason why civility made such late entrances into that island, may be imputed to its natural situation, lying more out of the road of commerce or conquest than any other part of the known world. All the intercourse the inhabitants had, was only with the western coasts of *Wales* and *Scotland*, from whence, at least in those ages, they were not like to learn very much politeness.

1135. The king, about the second year of his reign, sent ambassadors to pope *Adrian*, with injunctions

junctions to desire his licence for reducing the savage people of *Ireland* from their brutish way of living, and subjecting them to the crown of *England*. The king proceeded thus, in order to set up a title to the island, wherein the pope himself pretended to be lord of the see; for in his letter, which is an answer and grant to the king's requests, he insists upon it, that all islands, upon their admitting the Christian faith, become subject to the see of *Rome*: and the *Irish* themselves avowed the same thing to some of the first conquerors. In that fore-mentioned letter, the pope highly praises the king's generous design *, and recommends to him the civilizing the natives, the protection of the Church, and the payment of *Peter-pence*. The ill success of all past endeavours to procure from a people so miserable and irreligious, this revenue to the holy see, was a main inducement with the pope to be easy and liberal in his grant; for the king professed a design of securing its regular payment. However, this expedition was not undertaken until some years after, when there happened an incident to set it forward, as we shall relate in its place. * * *

* * * * *

* *Rad. de Diceto.*

HENRY the SECOND's Character.

Extracted from the MONKS.

Hard to gather his Character from such bad
AUTHORS.

A WISE prince, to whom other princes referred their differences; and had ambassadors from both empires, East and West, as well as others, at once in his court.

Strong and brawny body, patient of cold and heat, big head, broad breast, broken voice, temperate in meat, using much exercise, just stature, *forma elegantissima, colore subrufo, oculis glaucis*, sharp wit, very great memory, constancy in adversity [and] in felicity, except at last he yielded, because almost forsaken of all; liberal, imposed few tributes, excellent soldier and fortunate, wise and not unlearned. His vices: mild and promising in adversity, fierce and hard, and a violator of faith in prosperity; covetous to his domesticks and children, although liberal to soldiers and strangers, which turned the former from him; loved profit more than justice; very lustful, which likewise turned his sons and others from him. *Rosamond* and the labyrinth at *Woodstock*. Not very religious*; *mortuos milites lugens plus quam vivos amans; largus in publico, parcus in privato.*

Constant

* *Brompton.*

HENRY the SECOND's CHARACTER. 353

Constant in love and hatred, false to his word, morose, a lover of ease. Oppressor of nobles, sul-
len, and a delayer of justice; *verbo varius & ver-*
sutus——Used churchmen well after *Becket's*
death; charitable to the poor, levied few taxes,
hated slaughter and cruelty *. A great memory,
and always knew those he once saw.

Very indefatigable in his travels backwards and
forwards to *Normandy*, &c. of most endless desires
to increase his dominions. * * * *

* * * * *

Cetera desiderantur.

* *Girald.*

H h 3

THE

T H E
A N S W E R
O F T H E

Right Honourable W——M P——y, Esq;

T O T H E

Right Honourable Sir R——T W——E.*

SIR,

Oct. 15. 1730.

A PAMPHLET was lately sent me, entitled,
*A letter from the Right Hon. Sir R. W.
 to the Right Hon. W. P. Esq; occasioned by the late
 Invectives on the King, her Majesty, and all the
 Royal Family.* By these initial letters of our
 names, the world is to understand that you and I
 must be meant. Although the letter seems to
 require an answer, yet because it appears to be
 written rather in the style and manner used by
 some of your pensioners, than your own, I shall
 allow you the liberty to think the same of this
 answer, and leave the public to determine which
 of the two actors can better personate their prin-
 ciples. That frigid and fustian way of haranguing,
 wherewith your representer begins, continues,
 and ends his declamation, I shall leave to the cri-
 tics

* Written by Dr. Swift.

tics in eloquence and propriety to descant on; because it adds nothing to the weight of your accusations, nor will my defence be one grain the better, by exposing its puerilities.

I shall therefore only remark upon this particular, that the frauds and corruptions in most other arts and sciences, as law, physic (I shall proceed no further) are usually much more plausibly defended than in that of politics; whether it be, that by a kind of fatality, the vindication of a corrupt minister is always left to the management of the meanest and most prostitute writers; or whether it be, that the effects of a wicked or unskilful administration, are more public, visible, pernicious and universal. Whereas the mistakes in other sciences are often matters that affect only speculation; or, at worst, the bad consequences fall upon few and private persons. A nation is quickly sensible of the miseries it feels, and little comforted by knowing what account it turns to by the wealth, the power, the honours conferred on those who sit at the helm, or the salaries paid to their pen-men; while the body of the people is sunk into poverty and despair. A *Frenchman* in his wooden shoes may, from the vanity of his nation, and the constitution of that government, conceive some imaginary pleasure in boasting the grandeur of his monarch, in the midst of his own slavery: but a freeborn *Englishman*, with all his loyalty, can find little satisfaction at a minister overgrown in wealth and power, from the lowest degree

gree of want and contempt; when that power or wealth are drawn from the bowels and blood of the nation, for which every fellow subject is a sufferer, except the great man himself, his family, and his pensioners. I mean such minister (if there hath ever been such a one) whose whole management hath been a continued link of ignorance, blunders, and mistakes in every article, besides that of enriching and aggrandizing himself.

For these reasons, the faults of men, who are most trusted in public business, are, of all others, the most difficult to be defended. A man may be persuaded into a wrong opinion, wherein he hath small concern: but no oratory can have the power over a sober man, against the conviction of his own senses: and therefore, as I take it, the money thrown away on such advocates might be more prudently spared, and kept in such a minister's own pocket, than lavished in hiring a corporation of pamphleteers to defend his conduct, and prove a kingdom to be flourishing in trade and wealth, which every particular subject (except those few already excepted) can lawfully swear, and by dear experience knows, to be a falshood.

Give me leave, noble Sir, in the way of argument, to suppose this to be your case; could you in good conscience, or moral justice, chide your paper advocates for their ill success in persuading the world against manifest demonstration? Their miscarriage is owing, alas! to want of matter.
Should

Should we allow them to be masters of wit, rail-
lery, or learning, yet the subject would not ad-
mit them to exercise their talents; and, conse-
quently, they can have no recourse but to impu-
dence, lying, and scurrility.

I must confess, that the author of your letter
to me, hath carried this last qualification to a
greater height than any of his fellows: but he
hath, in my opinion, failed a little in point of
politeness, from the original which he affects to
imitate. If I should say to a prime minister, Sir,
you have sufficiently provided, that *Dunkirk*
should be absolutely demolished, and never re-
paired; you took the best advantages of a long
and general peace, to discharge the immense
debts of the nation; you did wonders with the
fleet; you made the *Spaniards* submit to our
quiet possession of *Gibraltar* and *Portmahon*; you
never enriched yourself and family at the expence
of the public.—Such is the style of your suppos-
ed letter, which, however, if I am well inform-
ed, by no means comes up to the refinements of
a fishwife in *Billingsgate*. *You never had a bas-
tard by Tom the waterman; you never stole a silver
tankard; you were never whipped at the cart's tail.*

In the title of your letter, it is said to be occa-
sioned by the late *invectives on the King, her Maje-
sty, and all the royal Family*: and the whole con-
tents of the paper (stripped from your eloquence)
goes on upon a supposition affectedly serious, that
their majesties, and the whole royal family, have
been lately bitterly and publicly inveighed against
in

in the most enormous and treasonable manner. Now, being a man, *as you well know*, altogether out of business, I do sometimes lose an hour in reading a few of those controversial papers upon politics, which have succeeded for some years past to the polemical tracts between *Whig* and *Tory*: and in this kind of reading (if it may deserve to be so called) although I have been often but little edified, or entertained, yet hath it given me occasion to make some observations. First, I have observed, that however men may sincerely agree in all the branches of the low-church principle, in a tenderness for dissenters of every kind, in a perfect abhorrence of popery and the pretender, and in the most firm adherence to the protestant succession in the royal house of *Hanover*; yet plenty of matter may arise to kindle their animosities against each other, from the various infirmities, follies, and vices inherent in mankind.

Secondly, I observed, that although the vulgar reproach which charges the quarrels between ministers and their opposers, to be only a contention for power between those who are in, and those who would be in if they could; yet, as long as this proceeds no further than a scuffle of ambition among a few persons, it is only a matter of course, whereby the public is little affected. But when corruptions are plain, open, and undisguised, both in their causes and effects, to the hazard of a nation's ruin, and so declared by all the principal persons and the bulk of the people,
those

those only excepted who are gainers by those corruptions: and when such ministers are forced to fly for shelter to the throne, with a complaint of disaffection to majesty against all who durst dislike their administration. Such a general disposition in the minds of men, cannot, I think, by any rules of reason, be called the *clamour of a few disaffected incendiaries*, gasping after power. It is the true voice of the people; which must and will at last be heard, or produce consequences that I dare not mention.

I have observed, thirdly, that among all the offensive printed papers which have come to my hand, whether good or bad, the writers have taken particular pains to celebrate the virtues of our excellent king and queen, even where these were, strictly speaking, no part of the subject: nor can it be properly objected, that such a proceeding was only a blind to cover their malice towards you and your assistants; because to affront the king, queen, or the royal family, as it would be directly opposite to the principles that those kind of writers have always professed, so it would destroy the very end they have in pursuit. And it is somewhat remarkable, that those very writers against you, and the regiment you command, are such as most distinguish themselves upon all, or upon no occasions, by their panegyrics on their prince; and, as all of them do this without favour or hire, so some of them continue the same practice, under the severest prosecution by you and your janissaries.

You

You seem to know, or at least very strongly to conjecture, who those persons are that give you so much weekly disquiet. Will you dare to assert, that any of these are *Jacobites*, endeavour to alienate the hearts of the people, to defame the prince, and then dethrone him (for these are your expressions) and that I am their patron, their bulwark, their hope, and their refuge? Can you think I will descend to vindicate myself against an aspersion so absurd? God be thanked, we have had many a change of ministry, without changing our prince: for, if it had been otherwise, perhaps revolutions might have been more frequent. Heaven forbid, that the welfare of a great kingdom, and of a brave people, should be trusted with the thread of a single subject's life; for I suppose it is not yet in your view, to entail the ministryship in your family. Thus I hope we may live to see different ministers and different measures, without any danger to the succession in the royal protestant line of *Hanover*.

You are pleased to advance a topic, which I could never heartily approve of in any party, although they have each in their turn advanced it, while they had the superiority. You tell us, It is hard, that while every private man shall have the liberty to choose what servants he pleaseth, the same privilege should be refused to a king. This assertion, crudely understood, can hardly be supported. If by servants be only meant those who are purely menial, who provide for their master's

master's food and clothing, or for the convenience and splendor of his family, the point is not worth debating. But the bad or good choice of a chancellor, a secretary, an ambassador, a treasurer, and many other officers, is of very high consequence to the whole kingdom: so is likewise that amphibious race of courtiers between servants and ministers; such as the steward, chamberlain, treasurer of the household, and the like, being all of the privy council, and some of the cabinet, who, according to their talents, their principles, and their degree of favour, may be great instruments of good or evil, both to the subject and the prince; so that the parallel is by no means adequate between a prince's court and a private family. And yet if an insolent footman be troublesome in the neighbourhood; if he breaks the peoples windows, insults their servants, breaks into other folks houses, to pilfer what he can find, although he belong to a duke, and be a favourite in his station, yet those who are injured, may, without just offence, complain to his lord, and for want of redress get a warrant to send him to the stocks, to *Bridewell*, or to *Newgate*, according to the nature and degree of his delinquencies. Thus the servants of the prince, whether menial or otherwise, if they be of his council, are subject to the enquiries and prosecutions of the great council of the nation, even as far as to capital punishment; and so must ever be in our constitution, till a minister can procure a majority even of that council to shelter him;

which I am sure you will allow to be a desperate crisis, under any party of the most plausible denomination.

The only instance you produce, or rather insinuate, to prove the late invectives against the king, queen, and royal family, is drawn from that deduction of the *English* history, published in several papers by the *Craftsman*; wherein are shewn the bad consequences to the public, as well as to the prince, from the practices of evil ministers in most reigns, and at several periods, when the throne was filled by wise monarchs as well as by weak. This deduction, therefore, cannot reasonably give the least offence to a *British* king, when he shall observe that the greatest and ablest of his predecessors, by their own candour, by a particular juncture of affairs, or by the general infirmity of human nature, have sometimes put too much trust in confident, insinuating, and avaricious ministers.

Wisdom, attended by virtue and a generous nature, is not unapt to be imposed on. Thus *Milton* describes *Uriel, the sharpest-sighted spirit in heaven, and regent of the sun*, deceived by the dissimulation and flattery of the devil, for which the poet gives a philosophical reason, but needless here to quote. Is any thing more common, or more useful, than to caution wise men in high stations, against putting too much trust in undertaking servants, cringing flatterers, or designing friends? Since the *Asiatic* custom of governing by prime ministers hath prevailed in so many courts

courts of *Europe*, how careful should every prince be in the choice of the person on whom so great a trust is devolved, whereon depend the safety and welfare of himself and all his subjects. Queen *Elizabeth*, whose administration is frequently quoted as the best pattern for *English* princes to follow, could not resist the artifices of the Earl of *Leicester*, who, although universally allowed to be the most ambitious, insolent, and corrupt person of his age, was yet her greatest, and almost her only favourite: (his religion indeed being partly puritan, and partly infidel, might have better tallied with present times): yet this wise queen would never suffer the openest enemies of that overgrown lord to be sacrificed to his vengeance; nor durst he charge them with a design of introducing popery or the *Spanish* pretender.

How many great families do we all know, whose masters have passed for persons of good abilities, during the whole course of their lives, and yet the greatest part of whose estates have sunk in the hands of their stewards and receivers; their revenues paid them in scanty portions, at large discount, and treble interest, though they did not know it; while the tenants were daily racked, and at the same time accused to their landlords of insolvency. Of this species are such managers, who, like honest *Peter Waters*, pretend to clear an estate, keep the owner penniless, and, after seven years, leave him five times more

in debt, while they sink half a plum into their own pockets.

Those who think themselves concerned, may give you thanks for that gracious liberty you are pleased to allow them, of *taking vengeance on the ministers, and there shooting their envenomed arrows*. As to myself, I neither owe you vengeance, nor make use of such weapons: but it is your weakness, or ill fortune, or perhaps the fault of your constitution, to convert wholesome remedies into poison; for you have received better and more frequent instructions than any minister of your age and country, if God had given you the grace to apply them.

I dare promise you the thanks of half the kingdom, if you will please to perform the promise you have made, of suffering the *Craftsman* and company, or whatever other *infamous wretches and execrable villains* you mean, to take their vengeance only on your own sacred ministerial person, without bringing any of your brethren, much less the most remote branch of the royal family into the debate. This generous offer I suspected from the first; because there were never heard of so many, so unnecessary, and so severe prosecutions as you have promoted during your ministry, in a kingdom where the liberty of the press is so much pretended to be allowed. But in reading a page or two, I found you thought it proper to explain away your grant; for there you tell us, that *these miscreants* (meaning the writers against you) *are to remember that the laws have ABUNDANTLY*

DANTLY LESS generous, *less mild and merciful sentiments* than yourself; and into their secular hands the poor authors must be delivered to fines, prisons, pillories, whippings, and the gallows. Thus your promise of impunity, which began somewhat jesuitically, concludes with the mercy of a *Spanish* inquisitor.

If it should so happen, that I am neither *abettor, patron, protector* nor *supporter* of these imaginary invectives *against the king, her majesty, or any of the royal family*, I desire to know what satisfaction I am to get from you, or the creature you employed in writing the libel which I am now answering? It will be no excuse to say, that I differ from you in every particular of your political reason and practice; because that will be to load the best, the soundest, and most numerous part of the kingdom, with the denominations you are pleased to bestow upon me; that they are *Jacobites, wicked miscreants, infamous wretches, execrable villains, and defamers of the king, queen, and all the royal family, and guilty of high treason*. You cannot know my style; but I can easily know your works, which are performed in the sight of the sun. Your good inclinations are visible; but I begin to doubt the strength of your credit, even at court, that you have not power to make his majesty believe me the person which you represent in your libel: as most infallibly you have often attempted, and in vain, because I must otherwise have found it by the marks of his royal displeasure. However, to be angry with

you, to whom I am indebted for the greatest obligation I could possibly receive, would be the highest ingratitude. It is to you I owe that reputation I have acquired for some years past, of being a lover of my country and its constitution: to you I owe the libels and scurrilities conferred upon me by the worst of men, and consequently some degree of esteem and friendship from the best. From you I learned the skill of distinguishing between a *patriot* and a *plunderer* of his country: and from you I hope in time to acquire the knowledge of being a loyal, faithful, and useful servant to the best of princes, king *George* the second. And therefore I can conclude, by your example, but with greater truth, that I am not only with humble submission and respect, but with infinite gratitude, Sir, your most obedient and most obliged servant,

W. P.

T O T H E

COUNT DE GYLLENBORG.

SIR,

Dublin, in Ireland, Nov. 2. 1719.

IT is now about sixteen years since I first entertained the design of writing a history of *England*, from the beginning of *William Rufus*, to the end of *Queen Elizabeth*; such a history, I mean, as appears to be most wanted by foreigners, and gentlemen of our own country; not a voluminous

voluminous work, nor properly an abridgement, but an exact relation of the most important affairs and events, without any regard to the rest. My intention was to inscribe it to the king * your late master, for whose great virtues I had ever the highest veneration, as I shall continue to bear to his memory. I confess, it is with some disdain, that I observe great authors descending to write any dedications at all: and for my own part, when I looked round on all the princes of *Europe*, I could think of none who might deserve that distinction from me, besides the king your master; (for I say nothing of his present *Britannic* majesty, to whose person and character I am an utter stranger, and like to continue so): neither can I be suspected of flattery on this point, since it was some years after that I had the honour of an invitation to his court, before you were employed as his minister in *England*, which I heartily repent that I did not accept; whereby, as you can be my witness, I might have avoided some years uneasiness and vexation, during the last four years of our late excellent queen, as well as a long melancholy prospect since, in a most obscure disagreeable country, and among a most profligate and abandoned people.

I was diverted from pursuing this history, partly by the extreme difficulty, but chiefly by the indignation I conceived at the proceedings of a
faction

* Charles XII. king of Sweden, who was unfortunately killed by a cannon-ball, at the siege of Frederickshall, in the year 1718.

faction which then prevailed; and the papers lay neglected in my cabinet, until you saw me in *England*; when you know how far I was engaged in thoughts and business of another kind. Upon her majesty's lamented death, I returned to my station in this kingdom; since which time, there is not a northern curate among you, who hath lived more obscure than myself, or a greater stranger to the commonest transactions of the world. It is but very lately that I found the following papers, which I had almost forgotten. I publish them now, for two reasons: first, for an encouragement to those who have more youth*, and leisure, and good temper than I, towards pursuing the work as far as it was intended by me, or as much further as they please; the second reason is, to have an opportunity of declaring the profound respect I have for the memory of your royal master, and the sincere regard and friendship I bear to yourself; for I must bring to your mind how proud I was to distinguish you among all the foreign ministers, with whom I had the honour to be acquainted. I am a witness of the zeal you shewed, not only for the honour and interest of your master, but for the advantage of the Protestant religion in *Germany*, and how knowingly and feelingly you often spoke to me upon that subject. We all loved you, as possessed of every quality that could adorn an *English* gentleman, and esteemed you as a faithful subject to your prince, and an able negociator; neither

* The author was then in his fifty-second year.

ther shall any reverse of fortune have power to lessen you either in my friendship or esteem: and I must take leave to assure you further, that my affection towards persons hath not been at all diminished, by the frown of power upon them. Those whom you and I once thought great and good men, continue still so in my eyes and my heart; only with a

* * * * *

Cætera desiderantur.

O F

MEAN AND GREAT FIGURES, made by several Persons.

Of those who have made GREAT FIGURES in some particular Action or Circumstance of their Lives.

ALEXANDER the Great, after his victory, [at the Streights of Mount Taurus] when he entered the tent where the Queen and Princesses of Persia fell at his feet.

Socrates, the whole last day of his life, and particularly from the time he took the poison, to the moment he expired.

Cicero, when he was recalled from his banishment; the people, through every place he passed, meeting him with shouts of joy and congratulation,

tulation, and all Rome coming out to receive him.

Regulus, when he went out of Rome attended by his friends to the gates, and returned to Carthage according to his word of honour, although he knew he must be put to a cruel death, for advising the Romans to pursue their war with that commonwealth.

Scipio the elder, when he dismissed a beautiful captive lady, presented to him after a great victory, turning his head aside to preserve his own virtue.

The same Scipio, when he and Hannibal met before the battle, if the fact be true.

Cincinnatus, when the messengers, sent by the senate to make him Dictator, found him at the plough.

Epaminondas, when the Persian ambassador came to his house, and found him in the midst of poverty.

The Earl of Strafford, the day that he made his own defence at his trial.

King Charles the Martyr, during his whole trial, and at his death.

The Black Prince, when he waited at supper on the King of France, whom he had conquered and taken prisoner the same day.

Virgil, when at Rome, the whole audience rose up, out of veneration, as he entered the theatre.

Mahomet the Great, when he cut off his beloved mistress's head, on a stage erected for that purpose,

purpose, to convince his soldiers, who taxed him for preferring his love to his glory.

Cromwell, when he quelled a mutiny in Hide-Park.

Harry the Great of France, when he entered Paris, and sat at cards the same night with some great ladies, who were his mortal enemies.

Robert Harley Earl of Oxford, at his trial.

Cato of Utica, when he provided for the safety of his friends, and had determined to die.

Sir Thomas More, during his imprisonment, and at his execution.

Marius, when the soldier, sent to kill him in the dungeon, was struck with so much awe and veneration, that his sword fell from his hand.

Douglas, when the ship he commanded was on fire, and he lay down to die in it, because it should not be said, that one of his family ever quitted their post.

Sir Jerom Bows, * * * * *

* * * * * * * * *

Of those who have made a MEAN CONTEMPTIBLE FIGURE, in some Action or Circumstance of their Lives.

Antony at Actium, when he fled after Cleopatra.

Pompey, when he was killed on the sea-shore in Egypt.

Nero and Vitellius, when they were put to death.

Lepidus,

Lepidus, when he was compelled to lay down his share of the triumvirate.

Cromwell, the day he refused the Kingship out of fear.

Perseus King of Macedon, when he was led in triumph.

Richard II. of England, after he was deposed.

The late King of Poland, when the King of Sweden forced him to give up his kingdom; and when he took it again upon the King of Sweden's defeat by the Muscovites.

King James II. of England, when the Prince of Orange sent to him at midnight to leave London.

King William III. of England, when he sent to beg the House of Commons to continue his Dutch guards, and was refused.

The late Queen Anne of England, when she sent Whitworth to Muscovy on an embassy of humiliation, for an insult committed here on that Prince's ambassador.

The Lord Chancellor Bacon, when he was convicted of bribery.

The late Duke of Marlborough, when he was forced, after his own disgrace, to carry his Dutchess's gold key to the Queen.

The old Earl of Pembroke, when a Scotch Lord gave him a lash with a whip at New-market, in presence of all the nobility, and he bore it with patience.

King Charles II. of England, when he entered

ed into the second Dutch war, and in many other actions during his whole reign.

Philip II. of Spain, after the defeat of the Armada.

The Emperor Charles V. when he resigned his crown, and no body would believe his reasons.

King Charles I. of England, when, in gallantry to his Queen, he thought to surprise her with a present of a diamond buckle, which he pushed down her breast, and tore her flesh with the tongue; upon which she drew it out, and flung it on the ground.

Fairfax, the parliament-general, at the time of King Charles's trial.

Julius Cæsar, when Antony offered to put a diadem on his head, and the people shouted for joy to see him decline it; which he never offered to do, until he saw their dislike in their countenances.

Coriolannus, when he withdrew his army from Rome, at the entreaty of his mother.

Hannibal at Antiochus's court.

Beau Fielding, at fifty years old, when, in a quarrel upon the stage, he was run into his breast, which he opened and shewed to the ladies, that he might move their love and pity; but they all fell a laughing.

The Count de Buffly Rabutin, when he was recalled to court, after twenty years banishment into the country, and affected to make the same figure he did in his youth.

The Earl of Sunderland, when he turned Pa-

pist in the time of King James II. and underwent all the forms of a heretic converted.

Pope Clement the VII. when he was taken prisoner at Rome, by the Emperor Charles V.'s forces.

Queen Mary of Scotland, when she suffered Bothwell to ravish her, and pleaded that as an excuse for marrying him.

King John of England, when he gave up his kingdom to the Pope, to be held as a fief from the see of Rome.

C O N C E R N I N G
THAT UNIVERSAL HATRED

W H I C H

PREVAILS against the CLERGY.

MAY 24, 1736.

I HAVE been long considering and conjecturing what could be the causes of that great disgust, of late, against the Clergy of both kingdoms, beyond what was ever known, till that monster and tyrant Henry VIII. who took away from them, against law, reason, and justice, at least two-thirds of their legal possessions; and whose successors (except Queen Mary) went on with their rapine till the accession of King James I. That detestable tyrant Henry VIII. although he abolished the Pope's power in England, as universal bishop, yet

yet what he did in that article, however just as it were in itself, was the mere effect of his irregular appetite, to divorce himself from a wife he was weary of, for a younger and more beautiful woman, whom he afterwards beheaded. But, at the same time, he was an entire defender of all the Popish doctrines, even those which were the most absurd. And, while he put people to death, for denying him to be head of the church, he burned every offender against the doctrines of the Roman Faith; and cut off the head of Sir Thomas More, a person of the greatest virtue this kingdom ever produced, for not directly owning him to be head of the church. Among all the princes who ever reigned in the world, there was never so infernal a beast as Henry VIII. in every vice of the most odious kind, without any one appearance of virtue: But cruelty, lust, rapine, and atheism, were his peculiar talents. He rejected the power of the Pope for no other reason, than to give his full swing to commit sacrilege, in which no tyrant, since Christianity became national, did ever equal him by many degrees. The abbeyes, endowed with lands by the mistaken notion of well-disposed men, were indeed too numerous, and hurtful to the kingdom; and therefore, the legislature might, after the Reformation, have justly applied them to some pious or public uses.

In a very few centuries after Christianity became national in most parts of Europe, although the Church of Rome had already introduced many corruptions in religion; yet the piety of early

christians, as well as new converts, was so great, and particularly of princes, as well as noblemen and other wealthy persons, that they built many religious houses, for those who were inclined to live in a recluse or solitary manner, endowing those monasteries with land. It is true, we read of monks some ages before, who dwelt in caves and cells, in desert places. But when public edifices were erected and endowed, they began gradually to degenerate into idleness, ignorance, avarice, ambition, and luxury, after the usual fate of all human institutions. The popes, who had already aggrandised themselves, laid hold of the opportunity to subject all religious houses with their priors and abbots, to their peculiar authority; whereby these religious orders became of an interest directly different from the rest of mankind, and wholly at the pope's devotion. I need say no more on this article, so generally known and so frequently treated, or of the frequent endeavours of some other princes, as well as our own, to check the growth, and wealth, and power of the regulars.

In later times, this mistaken piety of erecting and endowing abbeys, began to decrease. And therefore, when some new-invented sect of monks and friars began to start up, not being able to procure grants of land, they got leave from the pope to appropriate the tithes and glebes of certain parishes, as contiguous or near as they could find, obliging themselves to send out some of their body to take care of the people's souls: And,
if

if some of those parishes were at too great a distance from the abbey, the monks appointed to attend them were paid, for the cure, either a small stipend of a determined sum, or sometimes a third part, or what are now called the vicarial tithes.

As to the church-lands, it hath been the opinion of many writers, that in England, they amounted to a third part of the whole kingdom. And therefore, if that wicked Prince above-mentioned, when he had cast off the Pope's power, had introduced some reformation in religion, he could not have been blamed for taking away the abbey-lands by authority of parliament. But, when he continued the most cruel persecutor of all those who differed in the least article of the Popish religion, which was then the national and established faith, his seizing on those lands, and applying them to prophane uses, was absolute sacrilege, in the strongest sense of the word; having been bequeathed by princes and pious men to sacred uses.

In the reign of this Prince, the Church and Court of Rome had arrived to such a height of corruption, in doctrine and discipline, as gave great offence to many wise, learned, and pious men through most parts of Europe; and several countries agreed to make some reformation in religion. But, although a proper and just reformation were allowed to be necessary, even to preserve Christianity itself, yet the passions and vices of men had mingled themselves so far, as to pervert and confound all the good endeavours of

those who intended well: And thus the reformation, in every country where it was attempted, was carried on in the most impious and scandalous manner that can possibly be conceived. To which unhappy proceedings we owe all the just reproaches that Roman Catholics have cast upon us ever since. For, when the northern kingdoms and states grew weary of the Pope's tyranny, and when their preachers, beginning with the scandalous abuses of indulgencies, and proceeding farther to examine several points of faith, had credit enough with their princes, who were in some fear lest such a change might affect the peace of their countries, because their bishops had great influence on the people by their wealth and power; these politic teachers had a ready answer to this purpose. "Sir, your Majesty need not be in any pain or apprehension: Take away the lands, and sink the authority of the bishops: Bestow those lands on your courtiers, on your nobles, and your great officers in your army; and then you will be secure of the people." This advice was exactly followed. And, in the Protestant monarchies abroad, little more than the shadow of Episcopacy is left; but in the republics, is wholly extinct.

In England the Reformation was brought in after a somewhat different manner, but upon the same principle of robbing the church. However, Henry VIII. with great dexterity, discovered an invention to gratify his insatiable thirst for blood, on both religions. * * * * *

A L E T.

A

L E T T E R

Giving an ACCOUNT of

A PESTILENT NEIGHBOUR.

SIR,

YOU must give me leave to complain of a *pestilent* fellow in my neighbourhood, who is always beating *mortar*, yet I cannot find he ever builds. In talking he useth such hard words, that I want a Druggier-man to interpret them. But all is not gold that *glisters*. *A pot* he carries to most houses where he visits. He makes his Prentice his *gally*-slave. I wish our lane were *purged* of him. Yet he pretends to be a *cordial* man. Every *spring* his shop is crouded with country-folks; who, by their *leaves*, in my opinion, help him to do a great deal of mischief. He is full of *scruples*; and so very litigious, that he *files bills* against all his acquaintance: And, though he be much troubled with the *simples*, yet I assure you he is a *Jesuitical dog*; as you may know by his *bark*. Of all poetry he loves the *dram-a-tick* best. I am, &c.

A L E T-

A

L E T T E R

T O T H E

E A R L of P E M B R O K E.

MY LORD,

1709, at a Conjecture.

IT is now a good while since I resolved to take some occasion of congratulating with your Lordship, and condoling with the public, upon your Lordship's leaving the Admiralty: and I thought I could never choose a better time, than when I am in the country with my Lord Bishop of Clogher and his brother the Doctor*: For we pretend to a *triumvirate* of as humble servants and true admirers of your Lordship, as any you have in both islands. You may well call them a *triumvirate*; for, if you please to *try-um* they will *vie* with the best, and are of the first *rate*, though they are not, *men of war*, but men of church. To say the truth, it was a pity your Lordship should be confined to the *Fleet*, when you are not in debt. Though your Lordship is *cast away*, you are not *sunk*: nor never will be, since nothing is out of your Lordship's *depth*. Dr. Ashe says, it is but justice that your Lordship, who is a man of *letters*, should be placed upon the *post-office*; and my Lord Bishop adds, that he hopes to

see

* Doctor St. George Ashe.

see your Lordship tossed from that *post* to be a *pillar* of state again; which he desired I would put in by way of *postscript*. I am,

My LORD, &c.

A

L E T T E R

T O T H E

E A R L O F P E M B R O K E,

Pretended to be the DYING SPEECH of TOM ASHE, whose Brother, the Reverend DILLON ASHE, was nicknamed DILLY. *

(Given to Dr. MONSEY by Sir ANDREW FOUNTAIN, and communicated to the Editor of these Volumes by that ingenious, learned, and very obliging Gentleman.)

TOM ASHE died last night. It is conceived he was so puffed up by my Lord Lieutenant's *favour*, that it struck him into a *fever*. I here

* Thomas Ashe, Esq; descended from an ancient family of that name in Wiltshire, was a gentleman of fortune in Ireland. He was a facetious pleasant companion, but the most eternal unwearied punster that perhaps ever lived. He was thick and short in his person, being not above five feet high at the most, and had

here send you his dying speech, as it was exactly taken by a friend in short-hand. It is something long, and a little incoherent; but he was several hours delivering it, and with several intervals. His friends were about the bed, and he spoke to them thus :

MY FRIENDS,

IT is time for a man to look *grave* when he has one foot there. I once had only a *punnick* fear of death, but, of late, I have *pundred* it more seriously. Every fit of *coffing* hath put me in mind of my *coffin*; though *dissolute*, men seldomest think

had something very droll in his appearance. He died about the year 1719, and left his whole estate, of about a thousand pounds a year, to his intimate friend and kinsman Richard Ashe of Ashfield, Esq. There is a whimsical story, and a very true one, of Tom Ashe, which is well remembered to this day. It happened, that, while he was travelling on horseback, and at a considerable distance from any town, there burst from the clouds such a torrent of rain as wetted him through. He galloped forward, and as soon as he came to an inn, he was met instantly by a drawer: "Here," said he to the fellow, stretching out one of his arms, "take off my coat immediately." "No, Sir, I won't," said the drawer. "Pox confound you," said Ashe, "take off my coat this instant." "No, Sir," replied the drawer, "I dare not take off your coat; for it is felony to strip an Ash." Tom was delighted beyond measure, frequently told the story, and said he would have given fifty guineas to have been the author of that pun. This little tract of Dr. Swift's, entitled, *The Dying Words of Tom Ashe*, was written several years before the decease of Tom, and was merely designed to exhibit the manner in which such an eternal punster might have expressed himself on his death-bed.

think of *dissolution*. This is a very great alteration: I, that supported myself with good *wine*, must now be myself supported by a *small bier*.—A fortune-teller once looked on my hand, and said, This man is to be a great traveller: He will soon be at the *Diet of Worms*, and from thence go to *Ratisbone*. But now I understand his double meaning.—I desire to be privately *buried*, for I think a public funeral looks like *Bury Fair*; and the *rites* of the dead too often prove *wrong* to the living. Methinks the word itself best expresses the number, neither *few* nor *all*.—A dying man should not think of *obsequies*, but *ob se qui es*.—Little did I think you would so soon see poor *Tom* *strown* under a *tomb stone*. But as the *mole* crumbles the *mold* about her, so a man of my small *mold*, before I am *old*, may *molder* away.—Sometimes I've *rav'd* that I should *revive*; but physicians tell me, that when once the great *artery* has drawn the *heart awry*, we shall find the *cor die all*, in spite of the highest *cordial*.—Brother, you are fond of *Daffy's* elixir; but, when Death comes, the world will see that, in spite of *Daffy down Dilly**.—Whatever Doctors may *design* by their *medicines*, a man in a *dropsy*, *drops* he not, in spite of *Goddard's drops*, though none are reckoned such *high drops*?—I find death smells the blood of an Englishman: A *fee faintly fumbled* out, will be a weak defence against his *fee fa fum*.—*P. T.* are no letters in Death's

* A nickname of Tom Ashe's brother.

Death's *alphabet*; he has not *half a bit* of either. He moves his *sithe*, but will not be moved by all our *sighs*.—Every thing ought to put us in mind of death: Physicians affirm that our very food breeds it in us, so that in our *dieting*, we may be said to *di-eating*.—There is something ominous, not only in the names of diseases, as *di-arrhæa*, *di-abetes*, *di-sentery*, but even in the drugs designed to preserve our lives; as *di-acodium*, *di-apente*, *di-ascordium*.——I perceive Dr. Howard (and I feel *how hard*) lay thumb on my pulse, then pulls it back, as if he saw *Lethum* in my face. I see as bad in his; for sure there is no *physick* like a *sick phiz*. He thinks I shall *decease* before the day *cease*; but, before I die, before the bell hath toll'd, and Tom Tollman is told that little Tom, though not *old*, has paid nature's toll, I do desire to give some advice to those that survive me. First, Let gamesters consider that death is *hazard* and *passage*, upon the turn of a *die*. Let lawyers consider it is a hard *case*. And let punners consider how hard it is to *die jesting*, when death is so hard in *digesting*.

As for my Lord Lieutenant the earl *Mungomerry*, I am sure he *be-wales* my misfortune; and it would move him to stand by, when the carpenter (while my friends grieve and make an *odd splutter*) nails up my coffin. I will make a short *affidavi-t*, that, if he makes my *epitaph* I will take it for a great honour; and it is a plentiful subject. His Excellency may say, that the art of punning is dead with Tom. Tom has taken all

puns

puns away with him : *Omne tulit pun-Tom.*—
 May his Excellency long *live tenant* to the Queen
 in Ireland. We never *Herberd* so good a gover-
 nor before. Sure he *mun go-merry* home, that
 has made a kingdom so happy.—I hear my
 friends design to publish a collection of my puns.
 Now I do confess, I have let many a *pun go*,
 which did never *pungo* ; therefore the world must
 read the bad as well as the good. Virgil has
 long foretold it : *Punica mala leges.*—I have
 had several forebodings that I should soon die : I
 have, of late, been often at committees, where I
 have fate *de die in diem.*—I conversed much
 with the *usber* of the *black rod* ; I saw his *medals* ;
 and woe is *me dull soul*, not to consider they are
 but dead mens faces *stampd over and over* by the
 living, which will shortly be my condition.

Tell Sir Andrew *Fountain* I *ran* clear to the
bottom, and wish he may be a late *a-river* where I
 am going. He used to *brook* my compliments.
 May his *sand* be long a *running* ; not *quicksand*,
 like mine. Bid him avoid *poring* upon monu-
 ments and books, which is in reality but *running*
 among *rocks* and *shelves*, to *stop* his *course*. May
 his *waters* never be troubled with *mud* or *gravel*,
 nor *stopt* by any *grinding stone*. May his friends
 be all true *trouts*, and his enemies laid flat as
flounders. I look upon him as the most *fluent* of
 his *race* ; therefore let him not *despond*. I fore-
 see his *black rod* will *advance* to a *pike*, and de-
 stroy all our *ills*.

But, I am going ; my *wind in lungs* is turning

to a *winding* sheet. The thoughts of a *pall* begin to *a-pall* me. Life is but a *vapour*, car elle *va pour* la moindre cause. Farewel: I have lived *ad amicorum fastidium*, and now behold how *fast I di um!*

Here his breath failed him, and he expired. There are some false spellings here and there, but they must be pardoned in a dying man.

A

L E T T E R

T O T H E

K I N G A T A R M S.

[From a reputed *ESQUIRE*, one of the *SUBSCRIBERS* to the *BANK*.]

S I R,

November 18, 1721.

IN a late printed paper, containing some notes and queries upon that list of the Subscribers Names, which was published by order of the Commissioners for receiving of Subscriptions, I find some hints and inuendos that would seem to insinuate, as if I and some others were only *reputed* Esquires; and our case is referred to you in your kingly capacity. I desire you will please to let me know the lowest price of a real Esquire's coat of Arms: and if we can agree, I will give my

my bond to pay you out of the first interest I receive for my subscription; because things are a little low with me at present, by throwing my whole fortune into the Bank, having subscribed for five hundred pounds sterling.

I hope you will not question my pretensions to this title, when I let you know that my godfather was a justice of peace, and I myself have been often a keeper of it. My father was a leader and commander of horse, in which post he rode before the greatest lords of the land; and, in long marches, he alone presided over the baggage, advancing directly before it. My mother kept open house in Dublin, where several hundreds were supported with meat and drink, bought at her own charge, or with her personal credit, until some envious brewers and butchers forced her to retire.

As to myself, I have been, for several years, a foot-officer; and it was my charge to guard the carriages, behind which I was commanded to stick close, that they might not be attacked in the rear. I have had the honour to be a favourite of several fine ladies; who, each of them at different times, gave me such coloured knots and public marks of distinction, that every one knew which of them it was to whom I paid my addresses. They would not go into their coach without me, nor willingly drink unless I gave them the glass with my own hand. They allowed me to call them my Mistresses, and owned that title publicly. I have been told that the true ancient em-

ployment of a Squire was to carry a Knight's shield, painted with his colours and coat of arms. This is what I have witneses to produce that I have often done; not indeed in a shield, like my predecessors, but that which is full as good, I have carried the colours of a Knight upon my coat. I have likewise borne the King's Arms in my hand as a mark of authority, and hung them painted before my dwelling-house, as a mark of my calling: So that I may truly say his Majesty's Arms have been my supporters. I have been a strict and constant follower of men of quality; I have diligently pursued the steps of several Squires; and am able to behave myself as well as the best of them, whenever there shall be occasion.

I desire it may be no disadvantage to me, that, by the new act of parliament going to pass for preserving the game, I am not yet qualified to keep a greyhound. If this should be the test of Squirehood, it will go hard with a great number of my fraternity, as well as myself, who must all be unsquired, because a greyhound will not be allowed to keep us company; and it is well known I have been a companion to his betters. What has a greyhound to do with a Squireship? Might not I be a real Squire, although there was no such thing as a greyhound in the world? Pray tell me, Sir, are greyhounds, to be from henceforth the supporters of every Squire's coat of arms? Although I cannot keep a greyhound, may not a greyhound help to keep me? May not I have

have an order from the Governors of the Bank to keep a greyhound, with a *non obstante* to the act of parliament, as well as they have created a Bank against the votes of the two Houses? But however, this difficulty will soon be overcome. I am promised 125 l. a year for subscribing 500 l.; and of this 500 l. I am to pay in only 25 l. ready money: The governors will trust me for the rest, and pay themselves out of the interest by 25 l. *per cent.* So that I intend to receive only 40 l. a year, to qualify me for keeping my family and a greyhound, and let the remaining 85 l. go on 'till it makes 500 l. then 1000 l. then 10,000 l. then 100,000 l. then a million, and so forwards. This, I think, is much better (betwixt you and me) than keeping fairs, and buying and selling bullocks; by which I find, from experience, that little is to be gotten in these hard times. I am,

S I R,

Your friend, and

Servant to command,

A. B. ESQUIRE.

Postscript. I hope you will favourably represent my case to the publisher of the Paper above-mentioned.

Direct your letter for *A. B. Esquire*, at — in —; and, pray get some parliament-man to frank it, for it will cost a great postage to this place.

L E T T E R

T O

MRS. SUSANNA NEVILLE.*

M A D A M,

June 24, 1732.

I WILL not trouble you with any grave *topicks*, lest I should *diseurm*ode you; but rather write in a *farmiliar* and *jococious* way.

You must know then, I was the other night at Mrs. Tattle's, and Mrs. Rattle came in to drink some *jocklit* with us, upon which they fell into a *nargiment* about the best *musicioners* in town: at last, Rattle told Tattle, that she did not know the *disfrance* between a song and a *tympany*. They were going to *defer* the matter to me; but I said, that when people disputed, it was my way always to stand *muter*. You would have thought they were both *intosticated* with liquor, if you had seen them so full of outrageousness. However, Mrs. Tattle, as being a very *timbersome* woman, yielded to Rattle; and there was an end of the *dispute-ment*.—I wonder you do not honour me sometimes with your company. If I myself be no *introducement*, my garden, which has a fine *ruval* look,

* This letter is fictitious, and was written by Dr. Sheridan.

look, ought to be one. My Tomy would be glad to see you before he goes for England, and so would I; for I am resolved to take the *tower* of London before I return. We intend to go to Norfolk or Suffolk, to see a clergyman, a near cousin of ours. They say that he is an *admiral* good man, and very *hospital* in his own house. I am *determ'd*, when this *vege* is over, never to set my foot in a stage-coach again; for the jolting of it has put my blood in such a *firmament*, that I have been in an *ego* ever since, and have lost my *nappitite* to such a degree, that I have not eaten a *mansion* of bread, put all together, these six weeks past. They allow me to eat nothing at night but *blanchius mansbius*, which has made a perfect *notamy* of me; and my spirits are so *extorted*, that I am in a perfect *liturgy*, for which I am resolved to take some *rubrick*, although the doctors advise me to drink *burgomy*. And what do you think? when I went to my cellar for a flask, I found that my servants had *imbellished* it all; for which I am resolved to give them some *hippokockoney* to bring it up again.—I fear that I have been too *turbulent* in this long and tedious *crawl*; which I hope you will excuse from

Your very humble servant,

MARY HOWE.

BARBAROUS DENOMINATIONS IN IRELAND.

SIR,

I HAVE been lately looking over the advertisements in some of your Dublin newspapers, which are sent me to the country, and was much entertained with a large list of denominations of lands, to be sold or let. I am confident they must be genuine: for it is impossible that either chance, or modern invention, could sort the alphabet in such a manner, as to make those abominable sounds; whether first invented to invoke or fright away the devil, I must leave among the curious.

If I could wonder at any thing barbarous, ridiculous, or absurd among us, this should be one of the first. I have often lamented that Agricola, the father-in-law of Tacitus, was not prevailed on by that petty king from Ireland, who followed his camp, to come over and civilize us with a conquest, as his countryman did Britain, where several Roman appellations remain to this day: and so would the rest have done, if that inundation of Angles, Saxons, and other northern people, had not changed them so much for the worse, although in no comparison with ours. In one of the advertisements just mentioned, I encountered near a hundred words together, which I defy any creature in human shape, except an

Irishman

Irishman of the savage kind, to pronounce; neither would I undertake such a task, to be owner of the lands, unless I had liberty to humanize the syllables twenty miles round. The legislature may think what they please, and that they are above copying the Romans in all their conquests of barbarous nations; but I am deceived, if any thing hath more contributed to prevent the Irish from being tamed, than this encouragement of their language, which might easily be abolished, and become a dead one in half an age, with little expence, and less trouble.

How is it possible that a gentleman, who lives in those parts, where the Town-lands (as they call them) of his estate produce such odious sounds from the mouth, the throat, and the nose, can be able to repeat the words, without dislocating every muscle that is used in speaking, and without applying the same tone to all other words, in every language he understands? As it is plainly to be observed, not only in those people, of the better sort, who live in Galway and the Western parts, but in most counties of Ireland.

It is true, that, in the city-part of London, the trading people have an affected manner of pronouncing; and so, in my time, had many ladies and coxcombs at court. It is likewise true, that there is an odd provincial cant in most counties of England, sometimes not very pleasing to the ear: and the Scotch cadence, as well as expression, are offensive enough. But none of these defects derive contempt to the speaker; whereas,
what

what we call the Irish Brogue is no sooner discovered, than it makes the deliverer, in the last degree, ridiculous and despised : and, from such a mouth, an Englishman expects nothing but bulls, blunders, and follies. Neither does it avail, whether the censure be reasonable or not, since the fact is always so. And, what is yet worse, it is too well known, that the bad consequence of this opinion affects those among us, who are not the least liable to such reproaches, further than the misfortune of being born in Ireland, although of English parents, and whose education hath been chiefly in that kingdom.

I have heard many gentlemen among us, talk much of the great convenience to those who live in the country, that they should speak Irish. It may possibly be so : but, I think, they should be such who never intend to visit England, upon pain of being ridiculous. For I do not remember to have heard of any one man that spoke Irish, who had not the accent upon his tongue, easily discernible to any English ear.

But I have wandered a little from my subject, which was only to propose a wish, that these execrable denominations were a little better suited to an English mouth, if it were only for the sake of the English lawyers : who, in trials upon appeals to the House of Lords, find so much difficulty in repeating the names, that, if the plaintiff or defendant were by, they would never be able to discover which were their own lands. But, besides this, I would desire, not only that the appellations

appellations of what they call Town-lands were changed, but likewise of larger districts, and several towns, and some counties; and particularly, the seats of country gentlemen, leaving an *alias* to solve all difficulties in point of law. But I would by no means trust these alterations to the owners themselves; who, as they are generally no great clerks, so they seem to have no large vocabulary about them, nor to be well skilled in prosody. The utmost extent of their genius lies in naming their country habitation by a hill, a mount, a brook, a burrough, a castle, a bawn, a ford, and the like ingenious conceits. Yet these are exceeded by others, whereof some have continued anagrammatical appellations, from half their own and their names joined together, others only from the lady. As for instance, a person, whose wife's name was Elizabeth, calls his seat by the name of *Bess-borow*. There is likewise a famous town, where the worst iron in the kingdom is made, and it is called *Swandlingbar*. The original of which name I shall explain, lest the antiquaries of future ages might be at a loss to derive it. It was a most witty conceit of four gentlemen, who ruined themselves with this iron-project. *Sw.* stands for *Swift*, *And.* for *Sanders*, *Ling.* for *Darling*, and *Bar.* for *Barry*. Methinks I see the four loggerheads sitting in consult, like Smectimnius, each gravely contributing a part of his own name to make up one for their place in the iron-work; and could wish they had been hanged, as well as undone, for their wit.

wit. But I was most pleased with the denomination of a town-land, which I lately saw in an advertisement of Pue's Paper: "This is to give notice, that the lands of Douras, *alias* WHIG-*borow*," &c. Now this zealous proprietor, having a mind to record his principles in religion or loyalty, to future ages within five miles round him, for want of other merit, thought fit to make use of this expedient; wherein he seems to mistake his account: for this distinguishing term, *Whig*, had a most infamous original, denoting a man who favoured the Fanatic sect, and an enemy to kings, and so continued till the idea was a little softened, some years after the revolution, and during a part of her late Majesty's reign. After which it was in disgrace until the Queen's death; since which time it hath, indeed, flourished with a witness: but how long it will continue so, in our variable scene, or what kind of mortal it may describe, is a question which this courtly landlord is not able to answer. And therefore, he should have set a date on the title of his burrow, to let us know what kind of creature a Whig was in that year of our LORD.—I would readily assist nomenclators of this costly imagination; and therefore I propose to others of the same size in thinking, that, when they are at a loss about christening a country-seat, instead of straining their invention, they would call it *Booby-burrow*, *Fool-brook*, *Puppy-ford*, *Coxcomb-hall*, *Mount-loggerhead*, *Dunce-hill*; which are innocent appellations, proper to express the talents of

of the owners. But I cannot reconcile myself to the prudence of this Lord of *WHIG-borow*, because I have not yet heard, among the presbyterian squires, how much soever their persons and principles are in vogue, that any of them have distinguished their country-abode by the name of *Mount-regicide*, *Covenant-hall*, *Fanatic-hill*, *Roundhead-bawn*, *Canting-brook*, or *Mount-rebel*, and the like; because there may, possibly, come a time when those kind of sounds may not be so grateful to the ears of the kingdom. For I do not conceive it would be a mark of discretion, upon supposing a gentleman, in allusion to his name, or the merit of his ancestors, to call his house *Tyburn-hall*.

But the scheme I would propose, for changing the denominations of land into legible and audible syllables, is by employing some gentlemen in the university; who, by the knowledge of the Latin tongue, and their judgment in sounds, might imitate the Roman way, by translating those hideous words into their English meanings, and altering the termination, where a bare translation will not form a good cadence to the ear, or be easily delivered from the mouth. And, when both these means happen to fail, then to name the parcels of land from the nature of the soil, or some peculiar circumstance belonging to it; as, in England, *Farnham*, *Oat-lands*, *Black-heath*, *Corn-bury*, *Rye-gate*, *Ash-burnham*, *Barn-elms*, *Cole-ortum*, *Sandwich*, and many others.

I am likewise apt to quarrel with some titles of Lords among us, that have a very ungracious

found, which are apt to communicate mean ideas to those who have not the honour to be acquainted with their persons, or their virtues, of whom I have the misfortune to be one. But I cannot pardon those gentlemen, who have gotten titles since the judicature of the peers among us hath been taken away, to which they all submitted with a resignation that became good Christians, as undoubtedly they are. However, since that time, I look upon a graceful harmonious title, to be, at least, forty *per cent.* in the value intrinsic of an Irish peerage: and, since it is as cheap as the worst, for any Irish law hitherto enacted in England to the contrary, I would advise the next set, before they pass their patents, to call a consultation of scholars, and musical gentlemen, to adjust this most important and essential circumstance. The Scotch noblemen, though born almost under the North Pole, have much more tuneable appellations, except some very few, which, I suppose, were given them by the Irish, along with their language, at the time when that kingdom was conquered, and planted from hence; and, to this day, retain the denominations of places, and surnames of families, as all historians agree.

I should likewise not be sorry, if the names of some bishops fees were so much obliged to the alphabet, that, upon pronouncing them, we might contract some veneration for the order and persons of those reverend peers, which the gross ideas sometimes joined to their titles, is very unjustly apt to diminish.

T O

FRANCIS GRANT, Esq;

MERCHANT IN LONDON.

[*Francis Grant, Esq; of London, Merchant, younger son of Sir Francis Grant of Cullen, Baronet, having an high opinion of the herring and other fisheries in the British seas, writ and published a pamphlet, in the year 1733, on that subject; principally with a view to excite the encouragement of the public, to such of the mercantile people as might engage in a project so extremely beneficial. The pamphlet was much esteemed; but the ministry of England, in those days, fearing to offend the Dutch, were not inclined to favour it. Whereupon, Mr. Grant writ a letter to the Reverend Doctor Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, who was then very eminent in Ireland, to try if the patriot party there would espouse the design, and reap benefit to their country, from what was thus rejected in England: To which letter the Dean writ the following answer, which greatly shews the man, as well as the general opinion he had of those times.*]

SIR,

Dublin, March 23. 1733-4.

I Return you my hearty thanks for your letter and discourse upon the fishery: you discover in both, a true love of your country, and (excepting your civilities to me) a very good judg-

M m 2

ment,

ment, good wishes to this ruined kingdom, and a perfect knowledge in the subject you treat. But you are more temperate than I, and consequently much wiser : for corruptions are apt to make me impatient, and give offence, which you prudently avoid.

Ever since I began to think, I was enraged at the folly of England, in suffering the Dutch to have almost the whole advantage of our fishery, just under our noses.

The last Lord Wemys told me, he was governor of a castle in Scotland, near which the Dutch used to fish : he sent to them, in a civil manner, to desire they would send him some fish, which they brutishly refused ; whereupon he ordered three or four cannon to be discharged from the castle, (for their boats were in reach of the shot,) and immediately, they sent him more than he wanted.

The Dutch are like a knot of sharpers among a parcel of honest gentlemen, who think they understand play, and are bubbled of their money. I love them for the love they have to their country ; which, however, is no virtue in them, because it is their private interest, which is directly contrary in England. In the Queen's time, I did often press the Lord-treasurer Oxford, and others of the ministry, upon this very subject ; but the answer was, " We must not offend the " Dutch ;" who, at that very time, were opposing us in all our steps towards a peace. I laughed to see the zeal that ministry had about the
fishing

fishing at Newfoundland (I think) while no care was taken against the Dutch fishing just at our doors.

As to my native country, I happened indeed, by a perfect accident, to be born here, my mother being left here from returning to her house at Leicester, and I was a year old before I was sent to England: and thus I am a Teague, or an Irishman, or what people please, although the best part of my life was in England.

What I did for this country, was from perfect hatred of tyranny and oppression, for which I had a proclamation against me of 300 l. which my old friend, my Lord Carteret, was forced to consent to, the very first or second night of his arrival hither. The crime was, that of writing against a project of one Wood, an ironmonger, to coin 100,000 l. in halfpence, not worth a sixth part of the money, which was laid before the people in so plain a manner, that they all refused it; and so the nation was preserved from immediate ruin.

I have done some smaller services to this kingdom; but I can do no more. I have too many years upon me, and have too much sickness. I am out of favour at court, where I was well received, during two summers, six and seven years ago. The governing people here do not love me. For, as corrupt as England is, it is an habitation of faints, in comparison of Ireland. We are all fl—s, and kn—s, and fools; and all, but bishops and people in employments, beggars.

M m 3

The

The cash of Ireland does not amount to 200,000*l*. The few honest men among us are dead-hearted, poor, and out of favour and power.

I talked to two or three gentlemen of this House of Commons, now sitting here; and mentioning your scheme, shewed how very advantageous it would be to Ireland. They agreed with me; but said, that if such a thing were proposed, the members would all go out, as at a thing they had no concern in.

I believe the people of Lapland, or the Hot-tentots, are not so miserable a people as we; for oppression, supported by power, will infallibly introduce slavish principles. I am afraid, that, even in England, your proposal will come to nothing. There is not virtue enough left among mankind. If your scheme should pass into an act, it will become a job: your sanguine temper will cool: r—s will be the only gainers. Party and faction will intermingle, and defeat the most essential parts of the whole design. Standing armies, in times of peace, projects of excise, and bribing at elections are all you are like to be employed in; not forgetting septennial parliaments, directly against the old Whig-principles, which always have been mine.

A gentleman of this kingdom, about three years ago, joined with some others in a fishery here, in the northern parts: they advanced 200*l*. by way of trial: they got men from Orkney to cure their fish, who understood it well. But the vulgar folks of Ireland are so lazy and so knavish,
that

that it turned to no account, nor would any body join with them: and so the matter fell, and they lost two-thirds of their money. Oppressed beggars are always knaves; and, I believe, there hardly are any other among us. They had rather gain a shilling by knavery, than five pounds by honest dealing. They lost 30,000 l. a year for ever, in the time of the plague at Marfeilles, when the Spaniards would have bought all their linen from Ireland: but the merchants and the weavers sent over such abominable linen, that it was all returned back, or sold for a fourth part of the value. This is our condition, which you may please to pity, but never can mend. I wish you good success with all my heart. I have always loved good projects, but have always found them to miscarry. I am, Sir, with true esteem for your good intentions,

Your most obedient servant.

P. S. I would subscribe my name, if I had not a very bad one; so I leave you to guess it. If I can be of any service to you in this kingdom, I shall be glad you will employ me.

A. L. A. T. I. N.

A

LATIN LETTER,

IN THE

GRATTANIAN STYLE:

Written by Dr. SHERIDAN.

LATINITAS GRATTANIANA.

DOMINE,

TU cogitabas quod egi duram rem in intrando iudicium supra vinculum tuum, et quatuor claudendo mortgagias: non potui adjuvare id, quoniam eram valde durum positus ei pro nummum. Ego desidero te tenere linguam, et ne tergum morde me aliquid longior; nam si facis, supra meam animam te tundam deorsum primum tempus quod occurro te. Est pulchra res quod homo non potest rogare pro suo, quin vocas illum nomina, et das illi pessimum verbum in ore tuo. Semel magis jubeo te tenere linguam, vel potes esse certus quod non frangam juramentum. Sum nunciatus quod uxor tuus simile sapienti capit magnas libertates cum me; profecto illa habuit melior esse quietus, vel nunciabo illi suum ac cito accideo illam. Nosco valde bene tu potes gignere pecuniam a centum manibus, si places; igitur fac festinationem, nam diabolus cape me si famulabor

unus

unus dies plus. Sic do te pulchram cautionem
aspicere ad teipsum, nam habeo te in carcere
ante mensis it circa, si non sum solvitus. Prope
est indusium, sed propior est cutis; et charitas in-
cipit apud domum. Habeo novem infantes et
uxor; non possum tenere illos supra nihil, et ora
habebunt cibum. Sic necessitas habet nullum
lex. Omnes hi res sunt satis ostendere te mag-
nus opus in quo sum; ideo dico te in brevi habe-
bo pecuniam quodlibet quadrantem. Sum

Tuus humilis famulus,

BLUNDERORIUS PETTIFOGGARIUS.

Sine me habere lineam vel duo, ut sciam quid
dependeam supra.

A L E T T E R

T O

DOCTOR SHERIDAN.

ANGLO-LATIN.

[*As the following is the only piece of the kind that
perhaps ever was written; we doubt not but the
curious and polite, will find some agreeable enter-
tainment in the perusal of it.*]

Hl us try sigh may Do my nay,

IN vain I vye am new pear am descry bend a
late in night a tea. Dice ease force an spay

LOWE

row hock essay a liquid no vye ake a claw dabble is. Tame pufs e'er it pose stack come me a fye low so fye a law dabb bitter a tea. East nay ill lay a my cuz vest err it a e'er you dye t'us you teague o some; add some mum all tear sock rates, ought a wrist I days? Can toe carrmen I am become, here o I come, home e'er I come. Egg o a mow tea; said ease nay Sr does come add tea meet toe litter as tun on lay jays, neck aw dire veal is? Aw dye vye tea few is sea a man tame you nigh us pew ell lay leap I dice I may, for mow say, said paw pear I may, said dive ease may lye us place sea bitt patt rye vest row.

Codd add raise belly eat pace is at tin net, my high my nigh may like wet, neck raise awe jike as no vye. Sat is east aw dye ray a ball I is. Wrecks bay nay valet, come rage in a eat inn fan tye bufs, eat aw lice is, pray sip you ay ake witty ill us try: Said hock egg o nigh hill cur o, come paw lull'um may a matt; at egg o ill los mine us. Feel licks fort tea may ah: Sick dice it whore as I us: In tea jear vye tea seal err risque pure us: I dame vye day, eat fet her a. Dumb spy row, spay row.

Some hew my lime us do mine afs I own is vest ray.

Vye like us.

P. S. Ray sea pye vest ram ape pist o lamb, quay east a duck inn many bufs.

AN

E P I S T L E

I N

H A R D L A T I N,

F R O M

Dr. S W I F T to Dr. S H E R I D A N.

DOMINE,

AUDIVI * quòd abra fœminæ nobilis et mihi amicæ offendendo pedem ad paxillum vel ridicam, vel, ut alii dicunt, rutabulum; valdè læsit uropygium, et est miserè catax. Novi ejus patrem, capitularem, et sublestum, et carnarium, qui

* As all the words in this and the following Letter, which cause any difficulty, are extremely uncommon, we presume it will not be amiss to print a Glossary, in order to save our Readers the plague and trouble of turning over a Dictionary.

Abra, a waiting-woman : *Quod sit delicata, non vulgaris Ancilla.*

Paxillus, a stake, pale, or post.

Ridica, the prop of a vine, &c.

Rutabulum, a maukin, a cole-rake to make clean an oven, an oven-swoop, a skealing-stick.

Uropygium, the narrowest and lowest part of the chine, the rump.

Catax, lame, hip-halt.

Capitularis, a tax-gatherer, an exciseman.

Sublestus, weak, feeble; of no esteem or account.

Carnarius, a butcher.

Hornotinus,

qui furatus erat hornotinum per ostium clathratum, et ut meruit, a vulgo occillatus. Pauper enim erat, gaunaco et decotibus vestitus; perni-
onibus claudicans laboravit. Frequentavit sui si-
miles, propolas nempe, arilatores, cociones, imò
salisubfulos et labdas, omnes, ut meruerant, tribo-
nibus vestitos.

Pridiè tabellio ad me attulit epistolam de flata
et catta in portu obrutis, unde miser perdidit ca-
discum strobilorum plerum, duo haustura, calpar,
decem scutellas, calignam, et, quod maximè dolet,
crocotulam

Hornotinus, a fawn or hind-calf.

Clathratus, latticed, barred, grated.

Ocillo, to buffet, or beat and maul.

Gaunacum, a thick shag rug to cover one with, an Irish mantle.

Decotes, *Togæ detrita*, garments worn bare.

Pernio, a kibe on the heel.

Propola, a huckster, or retailer, a forestaller, a regrater, &c.

Arilator, a pedlar.

Cocio, a higler.

Salisubfulus, a morris-dancer, any one who dances and capers to
music.

Labda, any sort of vile filthy rascal.

Tribon, a threadbare cloak.

Tabellio, a carrier of letters.

Stilata, a float, a hoy, a flat-boat.

Catta, *nomen navis*.

Cadiscus, a rundlet, a kilderkin, or little barrel.

Strobilus, a pine-apple.

Plerus, idem quod *plenus*.

Haustrum, a bucket; also a kind of pot, or jug, to draw drink with.

Calpar, an earthen vessel, or tun.

Scutella, any kind of dish or platter.

Caligna, as this word seems to be derived from καλον, *ignum*, per-
haps it signifies a large wooden bowl.

Crocotula,

crocotulam nuper uxori emptam, sed spero me redhostiturum fore.

Amicus noster *catulaster* lepidissimus hominum miserè vivit in domuncula vescarum plena, proficiebus pascitur, operando strigans et conquiniscens, et turundis pullos pascit in tuguriolo serphorum pleno.

Hesternæ nocte cecidit terribilissima labes mantissa, quæ inlices omnes implevit.

Sum humilissimus, &c.

Crocotula, a little saffron-coloured, or yellow garment.

Redhostio, to requite a courtesy, to return like for like: But here it may signify, To make a present of just such another garment.

Catulaster, a little whelp.

Vesca, a cobweb.

Proficies, perhaps it may signify a supply, or subsidy, given as a present.

Strigo, to breathe, or rest in work; to stop or stand still, as oxen sometimes do at plough in the middle of a furrow.

Conquinisco, to duck the head, to bow or bend the body, to stoop.

Turunda, a pellet of bread, dough, or paste, wherewith capons are crammed.

Serphus, a kind of vermin like an ant.

Labes, a great fall, or pash of rain or hail, &c.

Mantissa, qu. *manutensa*, eo quod manu porrigitur. Over-measure, advantage, the vantage or over-weight. The Welch call it *Ispine*.

Inlex, inlices canales, gutters in streets.

A N S W E R

TO THE

EPISTLE IN HARD LATIN.

By DOCTOR SHERIDAN.

DOCTISSIME DECANE,

FORBUM tabellarum methodium vestrarum
 lagonopono me fermè affecit, quo circa
 hostire vestræ reverentiæ gerras aggredior. Quid
 mea refert si uropygium abrà ignobilis sit læsum?
 Ejusmodi etenim mulieres plerumque sunt exbuæ,
 atque rimarum non minùs plenæ quàm excerni-
 cula; profectò non mihi injucundum foret si tu
 esses illi iatraliptes. Si vero curam suscipias, non

abs

Forbus, Calidus, *Serv.* Formus a *Θεσμος*: *Æol.* *Θεσμος*, aliter a
ferbo, vel *forvo*; i. e. *Ferveo*, hot, warm.

Tabella, a letter, or epistle.

Methodium, a trick, a cheat, a cunning fetch.

Lagonoponos, a fretting to the guts.

Hostio, to recompense, to return like for like.

Gerræ, hurdles, or twigs filled up with earth, for fortifying a
 place; gabions, &c.

Exbuæ, tippling gossips.

Excerniculum, a sieve.

Iatraliptes, a physician or surgeon that cures by ointments and
 frictions.

Crotaphite,

abs re fuerit illius crotaphitas ambabus calidè manibus fricare ne spiritus deficient, atque inde porrò ad podicem descendens, postquam complutum aquâ vitæ feceris, applicueris emplastrum calligoni, mattiacarum tritarum, daucorum, suffitieteridis, gethyonum. Caveto interim ne tibi manus imbulbitaverit, aut imbubinaverit, partiliter

N n 2

ter

Crotaphite, the two muscles that are in the temples.

Complutus, wetted all over.

Calligonum, way-grass, knot-grass.

Mattiaca, [pilæ dict. quòd præstantissimæ apud Mattiacum Germaniæ oppidum conficerentur.] Soap-balls, wash-balls.

Tritus, common, much used.

Daucus, a kind of wild carrot.

Suffitieteridis. As there is no such word as this to be found in the common Dictionaries, it is imagined to have been coined by Dr. Sheridan, when he was writing this letter, in order to amuse and puzzle his correspondent: Or, if it be not too wild a conjecture, let us suppose the word to be thus divided, *Suffiti* et *Eridis*; and then it may refer to the rest of the ingredients of the plaster, and especially to the severe poignancy of the onions, in the next and last article: And then perhaps, the latter part of the sentence may be thus paraphrastically interpreted: "You might apply to the part affected a plaster of knot-grass, common wash-ball, wild carrot, and among the rest of the ingredients," (for *Συγγενητος* signifies a Companion) "by way of giving the whole a poignancy," (for *Ἐρις* signifies a contention for victory) "you should take care that a mixture of onion predominate in the composition." The word *Urtica*, in the following period, seems to favour this conjecture.

Gethyon, a kind of onions, hollow leeks.

Imbulbito, to defile one's self with any thing detestable. Vide Dictionary.

Imbubino, to defile with any thing abominable. Vide Dictionary.

Partiliter, particularly, with exactness or subtilty.

Urtica,

ter quandò prædicti spiritus urticam fenserit ; sed ne forsan obliviscaris, te moneo, ut pars crepidinis dorsi interior sit fissiculanda. Memini illius patrem ex infimâ plebis ruderatione gingrinatorem ; lucuntes olim vendidit, admodum fuit procel-lulus, eximius autem pilicrepus ; sed salaconem atque dosonem nimium se ostendendo, minuit hanc gloriam quam exercitijs meruit. Si vis ut nostra denuò amicitia inalescat, te mecum cràs prandere prorito ; habebis sympinium vel applam vini non vulgaris absque flocibus, cum cervisia æquè pellucidum ac glæsum. Sæpissimè futabas in ædibus meis nequè unquam inanias, de quibus mentionem

Urtica, a nettle, or any tickling pain like the sting of a nettle.

Crepido, dorsi *crepido*, the rump.

Fissiculandus, to be cleft, or cut open.

Rudratio, rubbish.

Gingrinator, a piper or minstrel.

Lucuns, a kind of meat, or rather some baked thing ; a spice-cake.

Pilicrepus, a ball-player.

Salacon, a great boaster, who, being extremely poor, would be thought very rich.

Doso, a great promiser, but who does nothing.

Inaleasco, ut *Coalesco*, to grow together, to stick one to another.

Prorito, to provoke, stir up, egg on.

Sympinium, a kind of wooden vessel for wine, used of old in their holy rites and divine services ; a stone jug, or pitcher ; a drinking cup.

Appia, ab *ad* et *pleo*, ut sit vas quod subinde impletur et depletur, — a kind of vessel used at table.

Flores, pl. the dregs or lees of wine.

Cervisia, vel *Cerevisia*, *Cerealis*, liquor, ale, beer, &c.

Glæsum, a kind of amber.

Futo, to blame or reprove.

Inanie, emptinesses, cobwebs.

Plegmen,

mentionem in epistolâ vestrâ fecisti, in ullâ nostrarum conspexisti camerarum. Hesterno die nimium ambulando flegmine laboro, quod ex stomachi ventositate evenisse comperio, ideoque magnam git quantitatem, ut postico emurmuret, deglutire statuo.

Sum tibi humillimus, &c.

Manaco Maii 15^o, 1732.

Flegmen, an inflammation or swelling in the legs, tired by overmuch walking.

Git, vel *Gith*, indecl. a kind of cockle, a small seed.

Posticum, a back-door.

Manacus, a month.

N n 3 THE

THE
CRAFTSMAN.

No. 232.

SATURDAY, Dec. 12, 1730.

THE following article, which hath lately appeared in the news-papers, deserveth our immediate consideration, viz.

“ They write from *Dublin*, that an officer from every regiment in the *French* service is arrived there, in order to raise recruits for their respective corps; which is not to be done in a clandestine manner, as formerly, (when several persons suffered death for it) but publicly. These gentlemen are to disperse themselves into the several counties, where they have the best interest; and a field-officer is to reside constantly at *Dublin*, to hear all complaints which may be made by any of the recruits against their officers; and also to prepare for sending them off.—Count *Broglie* hath been soliciting an order, to this purpose, these two years.”

When I first read this account in the public prints, I looked upon it as a common piece of false intelligence, and was in full expectation of seeing it contradicted in the next day's papers, according to frequent custom; but having since heard it confidently affirmed to be true, (although I can hardly yet believe it, especially

as to every part,) the duty which I owe my country, and my zeal for the present establishment; oblige me to take some notice of an affair, which I apprehend to be of very great importance to both.

It will be necessary, in the first place, to give the reader a short account of the nature of these troops, as they are now established in *France*.

They consist, as we have been informed, of one regiment of horse, and five regiments of foot, all doubly or trebly officered; so that they are, of themselves, a very considerable body of men.

But their number is the least point to be considered in this affair. There are other circumstances, which render these troops infinitely more formidable to *Great Britain*. They are not only all Roman-Catholicks, but the most dangerous of that communion, with respect to us; I mean, Roman-Catholick subjects of our own dominions; many of whom have been obliged to fly their native country on account of rebellions and conspiracies, in which they have been engaged; and all of them devoted, by inclination, by interest, by conscience, by every motive human and divine, to the service of the Pretender, in opposition to the protestant succession in his Majesty's royal family.

To this we may add, that they are generally esteemed the best forces in the *French* service; that they have always behaved themselves as such in the late wars; and are commanded by officers of approved courage, as well as great skill and experience in military affairs.

It

It is said likewise, that the serjeants, corporals, and private men are so well seasoned to danger, and expert in their duty, that by a gradual promotion, they could furnish officers for a very formidable army, in case of any sudden invasion or insurrection.

In the next place, it will not be improper to examine this affair with regard to our laws.

It is made felony by act of parliament in *Ireland*, for any subject of that kingdom to enlist himself, or to enlist others, in the service of any foreign state; and it is well known that multitudes of poor wretches have suffered death upon that account.

We know it may be said, that a power is reserved to his Majesty, by a clause in that act, to dispense with it, by granting any foreign prince a licence to raise forces in his dominions, and indemnifying his subjects from the penalties of the law.

Although it is far from my intention to dispute any of his Majesty's legal prerogatives, or to call the wisdom of the legislature in question, yet I must take the liberty to observe, that such powers have been sometimes granted out of complaisance to the crown, that the prince's hands may not be absolutely tied up, and in full confidence that they will never be exerted but for the benefit of this nation, or possibly of some protestant ally, upon great emergencies of state. The exercise of the prerogative in these cases, is therefore merely a prudential part, which is left to the discretion

cretion of the prince and his ministers, who ought always to be supposed the best judges of these affairs: and therefore, how ridiculous would it be to send to the attorney-general for his opinion in such a case, who can be a competent judge of nothing but the legality of it, and whether the affair be actionable or not? But ministers ought to regulate their conduct, in these respects, according to the situation of affairs, and the exigencies of government.

I must therefore beg leave to consider the present subject, of the *Irish* forces, in this light.

It will not be denied, I presume, that a licence to recruit Roman-Catholick regiments of *English* subjects, in foreign service, and in the interest of a pretender to the crown (which is death by the law, without his Majesty's permission) is a favour of a very extraordinary nature, and ought to be attended with some extraordinary circumstances. I confess that I can see no such extraordinary circumstances at present; unless it should be said that this favour was granted, in order to engage our good allies in the demolition of *Dunkirk*; but I hope they have more generosity than to insist upon such hard terms for the effectual performance of that, which they are obliged by treaty to do. I am sure, such conditions seem unreasonable on our part, after we have made them so many other concessions; particularly with relation to the flag and *Santa Lucia*; which, I think, are sufficient to make them comply with all our demands, with-

out

out expecting any farther favours, and even supererogations of friendship.

Perhaps my adversaries (if they have any conceit) may take an opportunity of ridiculing me for writing in this strain: but as it sometimes serveth their turn to make me a great man, and to argue against me as such, I will for once suppose myself so; and, methinks, if I had the honour of being but half an hour in that station, I could reason against such an order, for the good of my king and my country, in the following manner:

I. These troops have always been made use of, whenever there hath been any attempt in favour of the pretender; and indeed they are, upon many accounts, the fittest for this purpose. They are our fellow-subjects; they speak our language; are acquainted with our manners; and do not raise that aversion in the people, which they naturally conceive against other foreign troops, who understand neither. I am afraid I may add, that they are kept up, for this purpose, in entire regiments, without suffering them to be mixed with the troops of any other nation. It is well known, at least, that they supplied the late king *James* with a nursery of soldiers, who were always ready for his service, whenever any opportunity offered itself for his restoration; and that at this time the pretender is always the bait made use of by their officers to raise recruits. They never mention the king of *France*, or the king of *Spain*, upon these occasions; but list the poor wretches under an assurance, that they are enter-

ed

ed into the service of him, whom they call their natural and rightful king. I will not suspect the present fidelity of *France*, and their cordiality to the protestant establishment; yet methinks we might easily excuse ourselves from furnishing them with instruments, which they may employ against us, whenever ambition, or reasons of state, shall dissolve their present engagements, and induce them to espouse the cause of the pretender again.

2. It is very probable that his catholic majesty (who hath likewise several regiments of this kind in his service) will expect the same favour of recruiting them in *Ireland*; and that he may, in case of refusal, make it a pretence, at any time, for quarrelling with us, interrupting our commerce, and disturbing us again in the possession of *Gibraltar*. And here it is proper just to take notice, that these troops did his catholic majesty the most eminent service in the last siege of that important place. He may complain, perhaps, of our partiality to *France*, and alledge, that we do not treat *Spain* in the same manner we expect to be treated by them, as one of the most favoured nations.

3. The kingdom of *Ireland* seemeth, at this time, in a very ill condition to admit of any such draughts out of her dominions. She hath been already so much exhausted by the voluntary transportation of multitudes of her inhabitants, (who have been prevailed upon, by the calamities of their own country, to seek their bread in other parts of the world) that the interposition of parliament

liament was found necessary to put a stop to it; and shall we suffer any foreign power to drain her still farther, under such circumstances; especially in this manner, and for this purpose? I do not hear that this licence is confined to any particular number of men. It is confessed, I think, that they want above two thousand men to complete their corps: and, who knoweth but they may design to raise a great many more than they care to own; or even to form some new regiments of these troops? But supposing they are confined to a certain number of recruits, and that *Ireland* were in a capacity to spare them; it is well known how easily such limitations are evaded, and how difficult it is to know when people conform exactly to the terms of their commission. This was sufficiently explained in the late famous controversy, concerning Mr. *Wood's* patent for supplying *Ireland* with a particular sum of copper halfpence; and the arguments upon that subject may be applied to this, with some allowances for the difference between the two cases. It may, perhaps, be said likewise, that all the vigilance of the ministry hath been hitherto found ineffectual to prevent the *French* from clandestinely recruiting these regiments with *Irish* catholics; and, therefore, that we may as well allow them to do it openly; nay, that it is our interest to let them purge *Ireland* of her popish inhabitants as much as they please. But I deny this, for several reasons, which I shall mention presently: and if it were really the case, that the *French* can at any
time

time recruit these troops clandestinely, I cannot see any reason why they should solicit an order so pressingly, for two years together, to do it openly, unless they have some other design. Ought not even this consideration to put us a little upon our guard? and is it not a tacit confession, that these troops are thought to be of more importance to them than we ought to wish? Besides, are we to licence and authorise a mischievous practice, because we cannot totally prevent it? Every one justly applauded his Majesty's singular firmness and resolution, in supporting the rights of his *German* subjects, when an attempt was made to seduce some of them into the king of *Prussia's* service, although perhaps it is impossible to prevent that practice entirely. We all remember that the enlisting a miller's son, and a few other ordinary peasants, occasioned such a misunderstanding between the two crowns, as proceeded almost to a rupture. Nor was the zeal of the *English* parliament backward on this occasion; but, on this consideration, amongst others, resolved to keep up a body of 12,000 *Hessian* troops in our pay, which have already cost us above a million of money. I am confident, therefore, that the same paternal care will always influence his Majesty to guard and protect his *British* subjects in the same manner; and if any measure should be taken, which favours too much of the *French* interest, and seemeth of dangerous consequence to the interest of his family, the world can impute it to nothing but the deceitful representations

of those who lie under such particular obligations to the court of *France*, that they can refuse them nothing.

4. Such a licence seemeth to give encouragement to the people of *Ireland* to continue Roman-Catholics; since they are sure to meet with a provision both in the *French* and *Spanish* service; whereas, we always reject them in our troops, and absolutely prohibit our officers to recruit in *Ireland*. Now, although it may not be safe to trust them in our armies; yet certainly we ought not to give the least encouragement to their entering into foreign service; especially into such compact bodies as these regiments. And here it will not be amiss to relate a story, much to the honour of an *English* nobleman, who hath also one of the largest estates in *Ireland* of any man in the kingdom. When he went to visit the invalids in *France*, a place in the nature of our *Chelsea* college here, all the *Irish* officers and soldiers of that hospital drew out in a body to do him particular honours. We can make no question that their chief view was to have some present from his lordship: but, though he hath an heart as well disposed to generous charity as any man, and a purse well able to answer the dictates of it; yet, out of regard to his country, for which he hath likewise the most disinterested zeal, his answer to them was only this: "Gentlemen, I am very sensible of the honour you have done me, and heartily pity your misfortunes; but as you have drawn them upon yourselves, by serving against
your

your country, you must not expect any relief or reward from me, for having suffered in a service, in which I wish you had never engaged."

5. Is there not some reason to apprehend that this licence may, at one time or other, prove a snare to that country, and draw many people into their destruction? for, unless it is made perpetual, it cannot be supposed that all the poor ignorant wretches in the kingdom should be apprized how long this licence is to be in force; or when they may list with impunity, and when they may not. Besides, as it may be presumed that these officers will never go, for the future, upon such errands, without some pretended orders, when the real one is expired; so they will find it no difficult matter to impose such a counterfeit upon illiterate people; who may thus incur the penalties of the law, without knowing any thing of the matter. Such a method of providing for persons, whose principles render them unserviceable in our army, is indeed a little more charitable than a late * project for preventing *Irish* children from being starved, by fattening them up, and selling them to the butcher.

6. I have often heard that these troops have been made use of, in parliament, as an argument for keeping up a standing army in *England*; and I think we need not take any measures to render that argument stronger. God knows, there are too many arguments always ready upon such occasions.

I might insist upon some other points, which

O o 2

this

* See Vol. IV. p. 335.

this affair naturally suggesteth to a considering mind ; particularly the danger of suffering several bigotted *Irish* Papists, in foreign service, to disperse themselves into those counties where they have the best interest, and to stroll about *Ireland* amongst their relations and old acquaintance, of the same principles with themselves. Are we sure that they will not make a bad use of this liberty, by enquiring into the strength of their party, by giving them hopes, and taking an opportunity to concert measures for the advantage of their cause ? Have we no reason to apprehend that they may endeavour to raise seamen as well as soldiers, under colour of this order ? or engage great numbers of their countrymen to transport themselves over to the *French* colonies and plantations in the *West-Indies*, which are already grown formidable to the trading interest of *Great-Britain* in those parts ?

But whatever may be the motives to such an extraordinary favour, or the consequences of it, I am sure it is the strongest mark of our confidence in *France*, and such an one as, I believe, they would not place in us, upon any occasion. I will illustrate this by a parallel case.

The *French* protestants, who fled over hither from a persecution on account of religion, never discovered any principles, which were incompatible with the civil government of *France*, nor ever set up any pretender to the present Royal Family of that kingdom ; and yet, if we should think fit to form any considerable number of them into complete,

plete, distinct regiments, to be composed of *French* protestants only, and commanded by *French* officers, without any incorporation of *British* soldiers; I fancy it would give our good Allies some umbrage. But I am almost confident, that they would never permit us to send over a protestant *French* officer from every regiment to recruit their respective corps, by dispersing themselves into those provinces where they have the best interest; or suffer a field officer, in *English* pay, to reside constantly in *Paris*, and exercise a sort of martial law in the capital of their dominions; I say, they would hardly suffer this, even though our ambassadors should solicit such an order, with the utmost application, for twenty years together.

And yet the case of the *Irish* forces is much stronger with respect to us. They do not differ with us only in matters of religion; but hold principles absolutely destructive of our civil government; and are generally looked upon abroad as a standing army, kept on foot to serve the Pretender upon any occasion.

I must ask a question or two, which naturally offer themselves in this place.

What power is this field-officer to exercise during his residence in *Dublin*? Is the *French* martial law to take place, if any of these recruits should happen to repent of what they have done, and think fit to desert?

Troops are generally armed as soon as they are listed. Is this rule to be observed in the present

case? If so, another question occurreth. It hath been found necessary, for the security of *Ireland*, to restrain all Roman Catholicks from wearing or keeping any arms in their houses. I ask, therefore, whether the authority of this licence is to supersede the laws of the land? I may go farther.

The garrison of *Dublin* seldom consisteth of above 800 men for the duty of the place. Supposing double that number of popish recruits should be brought thither, in order to be viewed by their field-officer, will it be said that there is no just apprehension of danger? But as these suggestions may appear to be founded on the infidelity of *France* (a case not to be supposed at present) I will press them no farther.

I must however repeat it, that this order is the fullest demonstration of the confidence we repose in them: and I hope they will scorn to make any bad use of it. But if it were possible to suspect that they could have any design to play the knave with us, they could not wish for a better opportunity to promote it, than by such a power as is now said to be put into their hands.

I hope my remarks on this article of news will not be construed in a *Jacobite* sense, even by the most prostitute scribblers of the present times: but I must beg leave to expostulate a little with the public on that mean and infamous practice, which these writers have lately used, in explaining some of my papers into treasonable libels; taking an occasion from hence to appear formally in defence of the throne, and laying it down, as
a point

a point granted, that there is an actual, concerted design, of setting aside the present establishment. This is a practice which may be of great service to the real enemies to the present government; and every *Jacobite* in the kingdom may make use of it, to publish the most explicit invectives on the king and his government, under the pretence of interpreting the implicit design of other writings. It is a practice, which never was allowed of till now, and ought never to be allowed; for whatever may be the secret meaning of any author, such explanations are certainly libels, which may have a very bad effect upon weak minds, and are punishable by the laws, without any extraordinary methods of construction. These writers ought to remember the case of Sir *Richard Steele*, who published the Pretender's declaration, at the beginning of the late reign, with an answer annexed; and although he did it with a very good design, yet it was universally allowed to be contrary to law; and, if his principles of loyalty had not been very well known, might have involved him in a severe prosecution. I shall make no reflections on those, who encourage such scandalous explanations; and those, who are hired to do it, are beneath my notice. Let them empty all the trite common-places of servile, injudicious flattery, and endeavour to make their court by such nauseous, dishonest adulation, as, I am sure, gives the most offence to those persons to whom it is paid. Let them throw as much foul dirt at me as they please. Let them charge me with
designs,

designs, which never entered into my thoughts, and cannot justly be imputed to me from any part of my conduct. God knoweth my heart, I am as zealous for the welfare of the present Royal Family, as the most sordid of these sycophants. I am sensible, that our happiness dependeth on the security of his Majesty's title, and the preservation of the present government, upon those principles, which established them at the late glorious Revolution; and which, I hope, will continue to actuate the conduct of *Britons* to the latest generations. These have always been my principles; and whoever will give himself the trouble of looking over the course of these papers, will be convinced that they have been my guide: but I am a blunt, plain-dealing, old man, who am not afraid to speak the truth; and as I have no relish for flattery myself, I scorn to bestow it on others. I have not, however, been sparing of just praise, nor slipt any seasonable opportunity to distinguish the royal virtues of their present Majesties. More than this I cannot do; and more than this, I hope, will not be expected. Some of my expressions, perhaps, may have been thought too rough and unpolished for the climate of a court; but they flowed purely from the sincerity of my heart; and the freedom of my writings hath proceeded from my zeal for the interest of my king and my country.

With regard to my adversaries, I will leave every impartial reader to judge, whether, even in private life, that man is not most to be depended upon,

upon, who, being inwardly convinced of the great and good qualities of his friend, never loadeth him with fulsome flatteries; but takes the honest liberty of warning him against the measures of those who are endeavouring to mislead him. The case is much stronger in public life; and a crown is beset with so many difficulties, that even a prince of the most consummate wisdom is not always sufficiently guarded against the dangers, which surround him, from the stratagems of artful ministers, or the blunders of weak ones. Both of them may be equally bad ministers, and pursue the same methods of supporting themselves, by flattering him into measures which tend to his destruction.

But it is time to draw to a conclusion: and I can only add, that if I were really engaged in any design, contrary to the interest of the present establishment, I should have sat down contented, and secretly rejoiced at the affair, which occasioned this paper, instead of giving myself and the reader so much trouble.

C. D.

THE

T H E
A N S W E R
T O T H E
C R A F T S M A N.

SIR,

I DETEST reading your papers, because I am not of your principles, and because I cannot endure to be convinced. Yet, I was prevailed on to peruse your *CRAFTSMAN* of *December* the 12th, wherein I discover you to be as great an enemy of this country, as you are of your own. You are pleased to reflect on a project I proposed of making the children of *Irish* parents to be useful to the public, instead of being burthensome; and you venture to assert, that your own scheme is more charitable, of not permitting our popish natives to be listed in the service of any foreign prince.

Perhaps, Sir, you may not have heard of any kingdom so unhappy as this, both in their imports and exports. We import a sort of goods, of no intrinsic value, which it costeth us above forty thousand pounds a year to dress, and scour, and polish, which altogether do not yield one penny advantage; and we annually export above
seven

seven hundred thousand pounds a year in another kind of goods, for which we receive not one single farthing in return; even the money paid for letters sent in transacting this commerce being all returned to *England*. But now, when there is a most lucky opportunity offered to begin a trade, whereby this nation will save many thousand pounds a year, and *England* be a prodigious gainer, you are pleased, without a call, officiously and maliciously to interpose with very frivolous arguments.

It is well known, that, about sixty years ago, the exportation of live cattle from hence to *England* was of great benefit to both kingdoms, until that branch of traffick was stopt by an act of parliament on your side, whereof you have sufficient reason to repent. Upon which account, when another act passed your parliament, forbidding the exportation of live men to any foreign country, you were so wise to put in a clause, allowing it to be done by his Majesty's permission, under his sign manual, for which, among other great benefits granted to *Ireland*, we are infinitely obliged to the *British* legislature. Yet this very grace and favour, you, Mr. *D'Anvers*, whom we never disoblige, are endeavouring to prevent; which, I will take upon me to say, is a manifest mark of your disaffection to his Majesty, a want of duty to the ministry, a wicked design of oppressing this kingdom, and a traiterous attempt to lessen the trade and manufactures of *England*.

Our

Our trueſt and beſt Ally, the moſt Chriſtian King, hath obtained his Maſteſty's licence, purſuant to law, to export from hence ſome thouſand bodies of healthy, young, living men, to ſupply his *Iriſh* regiments. The king of *Spain*, as you aſſert yourſelf, hath deſired the ſame civility, and ſeemeth to have at leaſt as good a claim. Suppoſing then that theſe two potentates will only deſire leave to carry off ſix thouſand men between them to *France* and *Spain*; then, by computing the maintenance of a tall, hungry *Iriſh* man, in food and cloaths, to be only at five pounds a head, here will be thirty thouſand pounds *per annum* ſaved clear to the nation; for they can find no other employment at home, beſide begging, robbing, or ſtealing. But, if thirty, forty, or fifty thouſand, (which we could gladly ſpare) were ſent on the ſame errand, what an immense benefit muſt it be to us! and, if the two princes, in whoſe ſervice they were, ſhould happen to be at war with each other, how ſoon would thoſe recruits be deſtroyed; then what a number of friends would the Pretender loſe, and what a number of popiſh enemies all true proteſtants get rid of! Add to this, that then, by ſuch a practice, the lands of *Ireland*, that want hands for tillage, muſt be employed in grazing, which would ſink the price of wool, raw hides, butter, and tallow, ſo that the *Engliſh* might have them at their own rates; and, in return, ſend us wheat to make our bread, barley to brew our drink, and oats for our horſes, without any labour of our own.

Upon

Upon this occasion, I desire humbly to offer a scheme, which, in my opinion, would best answer the true interests of both kingdoms: for, although I bear a most tender, filial affection for *England*, my dear native country; yet, I cannot deny but this noble island hath a great share in my love and esteem, nor can I express how much I desire to see it flourish in trade and opulence, even beyond its present happy condition.

The profitable land of this kingdom is, I think, usually computed at seventeen millions of acres, all which I propose to be wholly turned to grazing. Now, it is found by experience, that one grazier and his family can manage two thousand acres. Thus, sixteen millions eight hundred thousand acres may be managed by eight thousand four hundred families, and the fraction of two hundred thousand acres will be more than sufficient for cabins, out-houses, and potatoe-gardens; because, it is to be understood, that corn of all sorts must be sent to us from *England*.

These eight thousand four hundred families may be divided among the four provinces, according to the number of houses in each province; and making the equal allowance of eight to a family, the number of inhabitants will amount to sixty-seven thousand two hundred souls; to these we are to add a standing army of twenty-thousand *English*, which, together with their trulls, their bastards, and their horse-boys, will, by a gross computation, very near double the account, and be very sufficient for the defence and graz-

ing of the kingdom, as well as to enrich our neighbours, expel popery, and keep out the Pretender. And, lest the army should be at a loss for business, I think it would be very prudent to employ them in collecting the public taxes for paying themselves and the civil list.

I advise, that all the owners of these lands should live constantly in *England*, in order to learn politeness, and qualify themselves for employments: but for fear of increasing the natives in this island, that an annual draught, according to the number born every year, be exported to whatever prince will bear the carriage; or transplanted to the *English* dominions on the *American* continent, as a screen between his Majesty's *English* subjects and the savage *Indians*.

I advise likewise, that no commodity whatsoever, of this nation's growth, should be sent to any other country, except *England*, under the penalty of high treason; and that all the said commodities shall be sent in their natural state, the hides raw, the wool uncombed, the flax in the stub; excepting only fish, butter, tallow, and whatever else will be spoiled in the carriage. On the contrary, that no goods whatsoever shall be imported hither, except from *England*, under the same penalty: that *England* should be forced, at their own rates, to send us over cloaths ready made, as well as shirts and smocks to the soldiers and their trulls; all iron, wooden, and earthenware; and whatever furniture may be necessary for the cabins of graziers, with a sufficient quantity

quantity of gin, and other spirits, for those who can afford to get drunk on holydays.

As to the civil and ecclesiastical administration, which I have not fully considered, I can say little; only, with regard to the latter, it is plain, that the article of paying tythes for supporting speculative opinions in religion, which is so unsupportable a burthen to all true protestants, and to most churchmen, will be very much lessened by this expedient; because dry cattle pay nothing to the spiritual hireling, any more than imported corn; so that the industrious shepherd and cow-herd may sit, every man under his own blackberry-bush, and his own potatoe-bed, whereby this happy island will become a new *Arctadia*.

I do likewise propose, that no money shall be used in *Ireland*, except what is made of leather, which likewise shall be coined in *England*, and imported; and that the taxes shall be levied out of the commodities we export for *England*, and there turned into money for his Majesty's use; and the rents to landlords discharged in the same manner. This will be no manner of grievance; for we already see it very practicable to live without money, and shall be more convinced of it every day. But whether paper shall continue to supply that defect, or whether we shall hang up all those who profess the trade of bankers, (which latter I am rather inclined to) must be left to the consideration of wiser politicians.

That which makeith me more zealously bent

P p 2

upon

upon this scheme, is my desire of living in amity with our neighbouring brethren; for we have already tried all other means, without effect, to that blessed end: and, by the course of measures taken for some years past, it should seem that we are all agreed in the point.

This expedient will be of great advantage to both kingdoms, upon several accounts: for, as to *England*, they have a just claim to the balance of trade on their side with the whole world; and therefore our ancestors and we, who conquered this kingdom for them, ought, in duty and gratitude, to let them have the whole benefit of that conquest to themselves; especially, when the conquest was amicably made, without bloodshed, by stipulation between the *Irish* princes and *Henry II.* by which they paid him, indeed, not equal homage with what the electors of *Germany* do the emperor, but very near the same that he did to the king of *France* for his *French* dominions.

In consequence of this claim from *England*, that kingdom may very reasonably demand the benefit of all our commodities in their natural growth, to be manufactured by their people, and a sufficient quantity of them for our use to be returned hither fully manufactured.

This, on the other side, will be of great benefit to our inhabitants the graziers, when time and labour will be too much taken up in manuring their ground, feeding their cattle, sheering their sheep, and sending over their oxen fit for slaughter; to which employments they are turned by nature,

nature, as descended from the *Scythians*, whose diet they are still so fond of. So *Virgil* describeth it :

Et lac concretum cum sanguine bibit equino.

Which, in *English*, is bonnyclabber *, mingled with the blood of horses, as they formerly did, until about the beginning of the last century, when luxury, under the form of politeness, beginning to creep in, they changed the blood of horses for that of their black cattle; and, by consequence, became less warlike than their ancestors.

Although I proposed that the army should be collectors of the public revenues, yet I did not thereby intend, that those taxes should be paid in gold or silver; but in kind, as all other rent: for the custom of tenants making their payments in money, is a new thing in the world, little known in former ages, nor generally practised in any nation at present, except this island, and the southern parts of *Britain*. But to my great satisfaction, I foresee better times; the ancient manner beginneth to be now practised in many parts of *Connaught*, as well as in the county of *Corke*, where the 'squires turn tenants to themselves, divide so many cattle to their slaves, who are to provide such a quantity of butter, hides, or tallow, still keeping up their number of cattle; and carry their goods to *Corke*, or other port-towns, and then sell them to merchants. By which invention there is no such thing as a ruined farmer to be seen; but the people live with comfort on potatoes and bonnyclabber, neither of which are vendible commodities abroad.

P p 3

ON

* Thick, sour milk.

O N

G O O D M A N N E R S

A N D

G O O D B R E E D I N G.

GOOD manners is the art of making those people easy with whom we converse.

Whoever makes the fewest persons uneasy, is the best bred in the company.

As the best law is founded upon reason, so are the best manners. And as some lawyers have introduced unreasonable things into common law; so likewise many teachers have introduced absurd things into common good manners.

One principal point of this art, is to suit our behaviour to the three several degrees of men; our superiors, our equals, and those below us.

For instance, to press either of the two former to eat or drink, is a breach of manners; but a tradesman or a farmer must be thus treated, or else it will be difficult to persuade them they are welcome.

Pride, ill-nature, and want of sense, are the three great sources of ill-manners; without some one of these defects, no man will behave himself ill for want of experience; or of what, in the language of fools, is called, knowing the world.

I defy

I defy any one to assign an incident wherein reason will not direct us what we are to say or do in company, if we are not misled by pride, or ill-nature.

Therefore I must insist, that good sense is the principal foundation of good manners: but because the former is a gift which very few among mankind are possessed of, therefore all the civilized nations of the world have agreed upon fixing some rules for common behaviour, best suited to their general customs, or fancies, as a kind of artificial good sense, to supply the defects of of reason. Without which the *gentlemanly* part of dunces would be perpetually at cuffs, as they seldom fail when they happen to be drunk, or engaged in squabbles about women, or play. And, God be thanked, there hardly happeneth a duel in a year, which may not be imputed to one of those three motives. Upon which account, I should be exceedingly sorry to find the legislature make any new laws against the practice of duelling; because the methods are easy, and many, for a wise man to avoid a quarrel with honour, or engage in it with innocence. And I can discover no political evil, in suffering bullies, sharpers, and rakes to rid the world of each other by a method of their own, where the law hath not been able to find an expedient.

As the common forms of good manners were intended for regulating the conduct of those who have weak understandings; so they have been corrupted by the persons for whose use they were contrived.

contrived. For these people have fallen into a needless and endless way of multiplying ceremonies, which have been extremely troublesome to those who practise them, and insupportable to every body else: insomuch, that wise men are often more uneasy at the over-civility of these refiners, than they could possibly be in the conversations of peasants or mechanics.

The impertinencies of this ceremonial behaviour, are no where better seen than at those tables, where ladies preside; who value themselves upon account of their good breeding; where a man must reckon upon passing an hour without doing any one thing he hath a mind to; unless he will be so hardy as to break through all the settled decorum of the family. She determineth what he loveth best, and how much he shall eat; and if the master of the house happeneth to be of the same disposition, he proceedeth in the same tyrannical manner to prescribe in the drinking part: at the same time, you are under a necessity of answering a thousand apologies for your entertainment. And although a good deal of this humour is pretty well worn off among many people of the best fashion, yet too much of it still remaineth, especially in the country; where an honest gentleman assured me, that having been kept four days, against his will, at a friend's house, with all the circumstances of hiding his boots, locking up the stable, and other contrivances of the like nature; he could not remember, from the moment he came into the house, to the moment
he

he left it, any one thing, wherein his inclination was not directly contradicted; as if the whole family had entered into a combination to torment him.

But, besides all this, it would be endless to recount the many foolish and ridiculous accidents I have observed among these unfortunate profelytes to ceremony. I have seen a dutchess fairly knocked down, by the precipitancy of an officious coxcomb, running to save her the trouble of opening a door. I remember upon a birth-day, at court, a great lady was utterly desperate by a dish of sauce let fall by a page directly upon her head-dress, and brocade; while she gave a sudden turn to her elbow upon some point of ceremony with the person that sat next her. Monsieur *Buys*, the *Dutch* envoy, whose politics and manners were much of a size, brought a son with him, about thirteen years old, to a great table at court. The boy, and his father, whatever they put on their plates, they first offered round in order, to every person in the company; so that we could not get a minute's quiet during the whole dinner. At last their two plates happened to encounter, and with so much violence, that being china, they broke in twenty pieces, and stained half the company with wet sweet-meats and cream.

There is a pedantry in manners, as in all arts and sciences; and sometimes in trades. Pedantry is properly the over-rating any kind of knowledge we pretend to. And if that kind of know-
ledge

ledge be a trifle in itself, the pedantry is the greater. For which reason, I look upon fiddlers, dancing-masters, heralds, masters of the ceremony, &c. to be greater pedants, than *Lipsius*, or the elder *Scaliger*. With these kind of pedants, the court, while I knew it, was always plentifully stocked: I mean from the gentleman-usher (at least) inclusive, downward to the gentleman-porter; who are, generally speaking, the most insignificant race of people that this island can afford, and with the smallest tincture of good manners; which is the only trade they profess. For being wholly illiterate, and conversing chiefly with each other, they reduce the whole system of breeding within the forms and circles of their several offices: and, as they are below the notice of ministers, they live and die in court under all revolutions, with great obsequiousness to those who are in any degree of credit or favour, and with rudeness or insolence to every body else. From whence I have long concluded, that good manners are not a plant of the court growth; for, if they were, those people who have understandings directly of a level for such acquirements, and who have served such long apprenticeships to nothing else, would certainly have picked them up. For, as to the great officers who attend the prince's person or councils, or preside in his family, they are a transient body, who have no better a title to good manners than their neighbours, nor will probably have recourse to gentlemen-ushers for instruction. So that I
know

know little to be learned at court upon this head, except in the material circumstance of dress; wherein the authority of the maids of honour must indeed be allowed to be almost equal to that of a favourite actress.

I remember a passage my Lord *Bolingbroke* told me, that going to receive prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* at his landing, in order to conduct him immediately to the Queen, the prince said, he was much concerned that he could not see her Majesty that night; for Monsieur *Hoffman* (who was then by) had assured her Highness, that he could not be admitted into her presence with a tied-up periwig; that his equipage was not arrived, and that he had endeavoured in vain to borrow a long one among all his valets and pages. My Lord turned the matter to a jest, and brought the prince to her Majesty; for which he was highly censured by the whole tribe of gentlemen-ushers; among whom Monsieur *Hoffman*, an old dull resident of the Emperor's, had picked up this material point of ceremony; and which, I believe, was the best lesson he had learned in five and twenty years residence.

I make a difference between good manners and good breeding; although, in order to vary my expression, I am sometimes forced to confound them. By the first, I only understand the art of remembering, and applying certain settled forms of general behaviour. But good breeding is of a much larger extent; for besides an uncommon degree of literature, sufficient to qualify a gentleman

tleman for reading a play, or a political pamphlet, it taketh in a great compass of knowledge; no less than that of dancing, fighting, gaming, making the circle of *Italy*, riding the great horse, and speaking *French*; not to mention some other secondary, or subaltern accomplishments, which are more easily acquired: so that the difference between good breeding, and good manners, lieth in this; that the former cannot be attained to by the best understandings, without study and labour, whereas a tolerable degree of readiness will instruct us in every part of good manners, without other assistance.

I can think of nothing more useful upon this subject, than to point out some particulars, wherein the very essentials of good manners are concerned, the neglect or perverting of which, doth very much disturb the good commerce of the world, by introducing a traffic of mutual uneasiness in most companies.

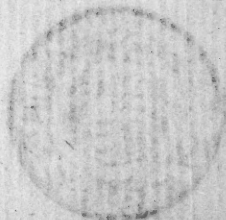
First, a necessary part of good manners, is a punctual observance of time at our own dwellings, or those of others, or at third places; whether upon matter of civility, business, or diversion; which rule, though it be a plain dictate of common reason, yet the greatest * minister I ever knew, was the greatest trespasser against it; by which all his business doubled upon him, and placed him in a continual arrear. Upon which I often used to rally him, as deficient in point of
good

* *Robert Harley*, earl of *Oxford*, lord high treasurer to *Queen Anne*.

good manners. I have known more than one ambassador, and secretary of state, with a very moderate portion of intellectuals, execute their offices with good success and applause, by the mere force of exactness and regularity. If you duly observe time for the service of another, it doubles the obligation; if upon your own account, it would be manifest folly, as well as ingratitude, to neglect it. If both are concerned; to make your equal or inferior attend on you, to his own disadvantage, is pride and injustice.

Ignorance of forms cannot properly be styled ill manners; because forms are subject to frequent changes; and consequently being not founded upon reason, are beneath a wise man's regard. Besides, they vary in every country; and, after a short period of time, very frequently in the same: so that a man who travelleth, must needs be at first a stranger to them in every court through which he passeth; and, perhaps, at his return, as much a stranger in his own; and, after all, they are easier to be remembered, or forgotten, than faces, or names.

Indeed, among the many impertinencies that superficial young men bring with them from abroad, this bigotry of forms is one of the principal, and more predominant than the rest; who look upon them, not only, as if they were matters capable of admitting of choice, but even as points of importance; and therefore zealous upon all occasions to introduce and propagate the new forms



and fashions they have brought back with them: so that, usually speaking, the worst bred person in the company is a young traveller just returned from abroad.

END OF VOL. XII.



0
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9

10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60
61
62
63
64
65
66
67
68
69
70
71
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99